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AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

CIRCUMNAVIGATION

OF THE

GLOBE,

84422

AND OF

THE PROGRESS OF DISCOVERY

IN THE

PACIFIC OCEAN,

FROM THE VOYAGE OF MAGELLAN TO THE DEATH OF COOK.

X-6, 29

ILLUSTRATED BY

PORTRAIT OF COOK, ENGRAVED BY HORSBURGH AFTER DANCE; A FAC-SIMILE OF HIS OBSERVATIONS OF THE TRANSIT OF VENUS IN 1769; AND TWENTY-ONE HIGHLY-FINISHED ENGRAVINGS BY JACKSON.

Vol-III

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PREFACE.

THE object of the present Work is to give a comprehensive History of the various Circumnavigations of the Globe, and to describe at the same time the Progress of Discovery in Polynesia.

The innumerable islands which are scattered over the vast expanse of the Pacific, have in all times excited the liveliest regard. In few regions of the earth does Nature present a more fascinating aspect, or lavish her gifts with more bountiful profusion. Favoured by mild and serene skies, the fertile soil of these insular territories produces the most luxuriant vegetation, which, with its many rich and varied hues, clothes the whole land from the margin of the sea to the summits of the loftiest mountains. As the voyager sails along their picturesque shores, he is refreshed by perfumes borne on the breeze, from woods which at the same time display the bud, the blossom, and the mature fruit. Nor is the character of their inhabitants less calculated to inspire interest. In countries where the bread-tree affords "the unreaped harvest of unfurrowed fields," where the people neither plough nor

sow, nor do any work, their first visiters believed that they had at length discovered the happy region with which poets adorned the golden age. To later explorers, as has been remarked by Humboldt, "the state of half-civilisation in which these islanders are found gives a peculiar charm to the description of their manners. Here a king, followed by a numerous suite, comes and presents the productions of his orchard; there the funeral-festival embrowns the shade of the lofty forest. Such pictures have more attraction than those which portray the solemn gravity of the inhabitants of the Missouri or the Maranon."

In every compendium of voyages, from the days of Purchas downwards, a prominent place has been assigned to the discoveries and exploits of those navigators whose course has led them to encompass the world,—whether in search of imaginary continents, in quest of warlike adventure, or in the peaceful pursuit of scientific knowledge. But the manner in which the History of Circumnavigation is given in most of the works alluded to, tends to repel rather than to invite the attention of the common reader. In the imperfect abridgments which have from time to time appeared, no endeavour is made to supply the deficiencies, or to illustrate the obscurities of the original narrative, by the light of more recent discovery. The mind is wearied by innumerable repetitions, and perplexed by irreconcilable discrepancies. The vast extent, too, of some collec-

tions cannot fail to deter a majority of inquirers: in one of which (Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, par M. Albert Montémont, in-8°. Paris, 1833-1835), the "Voyages autour du Monde" occupy about twenty volumes.

The excellent work of the late Admiral Burney may be said to be almost the only one in which an attempt has been made to digest this mass of crude materials in a methodical and connected narrative, possessing the advantages of perspicuous arrangement, and elucidated by the investigations of recent navigators. Of the "Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea" every one must speak with respect, as of a book distinguished by great erudition and by laborious research. It chiefly addresses itself, however, to the professional and scientific student; and is, indeed, obviously rendered unfit for general perusal by the copiousness and minuteness of its technical details. Though bringing down the annals of maritime enterprise no farther than to the commencement of the reign of George III., it occupies five volumes in quarto,—leaving the history of the short period comprehended between that epoch and the death of Cook (undoubtedly the most interesting of the whole) to be pursued in works extending to more than three times the same amount.

Nor must it be overlooked, that however excellent the performance of Admiral Burney may have been in its own day, it has now become in some measure antiquated, from the great accessions which geogra-

phical science has received since his work was submitted to the public. To our knowledge of the Archipelago of Tonga and Feejee, great contributions have been lately made by Mariner and D'Urville. Otaheite and the Society Islands have been elucidated with singular fidelity by the Reverend Mr Ellis, as well as by Messrs Bennet and Tyerman. The labours of the gentlemen just named, with those of the American missionary, Mr Stewart, of the officers of H. M. S. the Blonde, and of MM. Morineau and Botta, have greatly enlarged our acquaintance with the Sandwich group. Much light has been thrown on New Zealand by the writings of Cruise, Rutherford, Yate, Earle, D'Urville, and the contributors to the Missionary Register. The Ladrone or Marian Islands, the Navigators', and the vast range of the Carolines, have been for the first time satisfactorily illustrated by the inquiries of Freycinet and Kotzebue. The voyager last mentioned, as also his countryman Billinghausen, M. Duperrey, and Captain Beechey, have completed the discovery of the Low or Coral Archipelago; and the researches of Dillon and of D'Urville have supplied much valuable information on the state and productions of the New Hebrides.

In preparing this volume, the greatest pains have been taken to turn to advantage the important investigations of the writers just named; and while much interesting matter has been derived from the collections of Debrosses, Dalrymple, and Burney,

the work, it is hoped, will afford evidence that in no instance where they were accessible have the original authorities been neglected.

For some valuable information embodied in the account of Cook's Voyages, which occupies so considerable a portion of these pages, the Publishers have been indebted to the relatives of his family. By the kindness of the late Mr Isaac Cragg-Smith, they were furnished with the original manuscript of the great voyager's Observations of the Transit of Venus, and a fac-simile of this interesting relic accompanies the book. It may also be stated, that the Portrait (engraved by Horsburgh after Dance) which is prefixed to the work was pronounced by Mrs Cook—now no more—to be the most accurate of all the likenesses of her illustrious husband.

The scenery of the different countries visited by that eminent seaman, the appearance of the natives, as well as their dress and arms, are successfully illustrated by numerous beautiful engravings from the able hand of Mr Jackson.

The present volume comprises the History of Circumnavigation from Magellan to Cook,—a period of more than two centuries and a half,—and details the proceedings of those navigators who effected discoveries in the Pacific during the same time. It will be followed by a second, bringing down the narrative to the present day; exhibiting a copious view of the recent French, Russian, and German voyages, hitherto but little known in this country; and con-

taining a general Chart of the Pacific, the appearance of which has been postponed in order that it may embrace some late discoveries of which no authentic intelligence has as yet been promulgated.

The achievements of three circumnavigators,—Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier,—seemed to deserve a more minute description than was compatible with the design of this work, and an early Number of the EDINBURGH CABINET LIBRARY was devoted to an account of their lives and actions. To the former impressions of that volume was prefixed a brief notice of some of the first discoveries in the South Sea, which, as it is rendered superfluous by the more ample details now given, has been withdrawn in the last edition, in order to make way for several interesting facts and illustrations, derived from various books that have appeared in Great Britain and on the Continent since it was originally issued.

EDINBURGH, *June* 1, 1836.

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CIRCUMNAVIGATION

OF

THE GLOBE.

CHAPTER I.

Discovery of the South Sea.

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THE existence of the vast ocean which separates the continents of Asia and America was never imagined by the ancients; nor, indeed, do they appear to have had any certain knowledge that Asia on the east was bounded by the sea.

Homer had figured the world as a circle begirt by "the great strength of ocean," and this belief in a circumambient flood long continued to prevail. It was implicitly received by many geographers, and, being carried onwards with the advance of science,

was from time to time reconciled to the varying theories and conjectures of the increased knowledge of succeeding ages. Thus, long after the spherical form of the earth was taught, the existence of its ocean-girdle was credited; and in the geographical systems of Eratosthenes, Strabo, Mela, and others, the waters of the Atlantic were depicted as laving on the one hand the shores of Europe, and encircling on the other the mysterious regions of Scythia and India. Nay, so far had the speculations of philosophy outstripped the rude navigation of the times, that the possibility of crossing this unknown ocean was more than once contemplated. Having formed an estimate of the circumference of the globe, Aristotle conceived that the distance between the pillars of Hercules and India must be small, and that a communication might be effected between them. Seneca with more confidence affirmed, that with a fair wind a ship would sail from Spain to the Indies in a few days. But these notions were far from being universally received. Herodotus had early denied the existence of this circle of waters; and those who maintained the affirmative, reasoned on grounds manifestly hypothetical, and beyond the narrow limits of their knowledge. Of the northern countries of Asia they knew nothing, nor were they acquainted with the extensive regions beyond the Ganges,—a vast space that they filled with their Eastern Sea, which thus commenced where their information stopped, and all beyond was dark. The progress of discovery at length brought to light the existence of lands in those portions of the globe supposed to be covered by the ocean; but, proceeding with undue haste, it was next imagined that

Asia extended eastwards in an indefinite expanse. It was figured thus by Ptolemy, the last and greatest of the ancient geographers. He removed from his map the Atlanticum Mare Orientale (the eastern Atlantic), which had so long marked the confines of geographical research, and exhibited the continent as stretching far beyond the limits previously assigned to it. His knowledge did not enable him to delineate its eastern extremity, or the ocean beyond: he was therefore induced to terminate it by a boundary of "land unknown."

With Ptolemy ceased not only the advance of science, but even the memory of almost all that had been formerly known. The long night which succeeded the decline of the Roman empire was now closing in, and a dreary space intervened before its shadows were dispelled by the dawn of a brighter day than the world had yet witnessed.

The first gleam of light came from the East, where the Arabs pursued the study of geography with the utmost ardour. Their systems again revived the belief in a circumambient ocean, which bound the earth like a zone, and in which the world floated like an egg in a basin. That portion of this belt of waters which was imagined to flow round the north-eastern shores of Asia, they called by the name of "The Sea of Pitchy Darkness." The Atlantic had by the Greeks been regarded as a fairy scene, where the Islands of the Blest were placed, in which, under calm skies, surrounded by unruffled seas and amid groves of the sweetest odour, the favoured of the gods enjoyed everlasting peace and happiness. This fable found no place among the Arabs, who bestowed on that ocean the name of "The Sea of Darkness,"

and filled their imaginations with appalling pictures of its storms and dangers. Xerif al Edrisi, one of the most eminent of their geographers, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, observes,—"No one has been able to verify any thing concerning it, on account of its difficult and perilous navigation, its great obscurity, its profound depth and frequent tempests; through fear of its mighty fishes and its haughty winds; yet there are many islands in it, some peopled, others uninhabited. There is no mariner who dares to enter into its deep waters; or, if any have done so, they have merely kept along its coasts, fearful of departing from them. The waves of this ocean, although they roll as high as mountains, yet maintain themselves without breaking; for if they broke, it would be impossible for a ship to plough them."

But the mystery of this "Sea of Pitchy Darkness" was at length removed. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, the celebrated Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, succeeded in penetrating across the Asiatic continent, and reached the farthest shores of China. He brought back to Europe tales of oriental pomp and magnificence far beyond any previous conception. His work exercised the greatest influence on the minds of that age, which, prone to belief in marvellous stories, found unbounded gratification in the glowing descriptions of the wealth of those eastern countries; the extent and architectural wonders of their cities; the numbers and glittering array of their armies; and, above all, the inconceivable splendour of the court of the great Kublai Khan, his vast palaces, his guards, his gay summer-residences, with their magnificent gardens

watered by beautiful streams, and adorned with the fairest fruits and flowers. Among these visions of immeasurable riches, a prominent place was occupied by the sea which was found to be the eastern boundary of China. He drew a picture of it, widely differing from the gloom and tempests with which the Arabs had invested its waters. He spoke of its extent, so great, "that, according to the report of experienced pilots and mariners who frequent it, and to whom the truth must be known, it contains no fewer than seven thousand four hundred and forty islands, mostly inhabited." As to their products, he told that no trees grew there that did not yield a fragrant perfume. He dwelt on the abundance of their spices and drugs, and summed up the whole by declaring, that "it was impossible to estimate the value of the gold and other articles found in these islands!" But all others were outshone by the more lavish splendours of Zipangu, the modern Japan. There, were to be found abundance of precious stones, and large quantities of pearls, some white, and others of a beautiful pink colour. The inhabitants were of a fair complexion, well made, and of civilized manners. "They have gold," it is said, "in the greatest plenty, its sources being inexhaustible; but as the king does not allow of its being exported, few merchants visit the country, nor is it frequented by much shipping from other parts. To this circumstance we are to attribute the extraordinary richness of the sovereign's palace, according to what we are told by those who have access to the place. The entire roof is covered with a plating of gold, in the same manner as we cover houses, or more properly churches,

with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold, considerably thick; and the windows also have golden ornaments. So vast, indeed," exclaims the Venetian, "are the riches of the palace, that it is impossible to convey an idea of them!"* Marco Polo was careful to explain, that the sea in which Zipangu and its neighbouring islands were placed was not a gulf or branch of the ocean, like the English or the Egean Seas, but a large and boundless expanse of waters.

Thus early was the Asiatic margin of the South Sea made known; but more than two centuries elapsed before its opposite boundary was reached, or a European ship was launched upon its waves.

The Atlantic shores of Africa were the first scenes of that career of modern discovery which characterized the spirit of the fifteenth century. The main object was the circumnavigation of that continent, in order to open a direct path to India, the grand source of commerce and wealth; and, under the auspices of Prince Henry of Portugal, this end was pursued with a steadiness and perseverance which produced the most important results. There was inspired a confidence, hitherto unfelt, in the art of navigation; its capabilities were much advanced, and the range of its enterprise extended far beyond all previous limits. A passion for maritime adventure was also spread throughout Europe, and men's minds were excited to daring undertakings and bold speculations. Attention was turn-

* The Travels of Marco Polo, a Venetian, in the Thirteenth Century, translated from the Italian, with Notes by William Marsden, F.R.S. London, 1818. 4to, p. 569, et seq.

ed to the unknown waters of the Atlantic, and imagination wantoned in figuring the wealth, the wonders, and the mysteries of the lands that were hidden in its bosom. The fables of antiquity were revived; the Atalantis of Plato came again to be believed; and to its classic fictions were added the marvels of many a Gothic and monkish legend, and the visions of splendour seen in the glory of the setting sun. Yet all these glittering fancies failed to tempt any mariner to sail boldly forth into the ocean, and explore the secrets of its depths.

At length arose Christopher Columbus,—a man of whom it has been happily remarked, that the narrative of his life is the link which connects the history of the Old World with that of the New. From the study of ancient and modern geographers he became convinced of the existence of lands which might be reached by sailing westward. He argued that the earth was a sphere, and, following Ptolemy, he assigned to it a circumference of twenty-four hours. He estimated that fifteen of these were known to the ancients, and that what remained to be explored was occupied by the eastern countries of Asia and the sea seen by Marco Polo, which he believed to be identical with the Atlantic. He was therefore firmly assured, that, by proceeding westward across this ocean, he would arrive at the shores of the Asiatic continent and its neighbouring island of Zipangu, of which the glowing description left by the Venetian traveller seems to have constantly haunted his thoughts.

After many years of doubt and disappointment spent in soliciting various princes to engage in the en-

terprise, he at length set sail from Spain on the 3d of August 1492, and on the 12th of October following landed on San Salvador, one of the Bahama Islands. After cruising for some time among this cluster, believed by him to be part of the great archipelago mentioned by Marco Polo, he discovered the island of Cuba, which he concluded to be a portion of the continent of Asia. He next visited the beautiful island of Hayti or St Domingo, and, having loaded his vessels with specimens of the inhabitants and productions of this new country, returned to Europe. In his third voyage, Columbus discovered the continent of America, and looked upon it as the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients,—the peninsula of Malacca in modern maps. As he sailed along its shores, he received tidings of a great water situated to the south, and, conceiving that it must be connected with the Gulf of Mexico, determined to search for the strait or channel of communication. His last voyage was dedicated to this fruitless attempt; and he died in the firm conviction that this southern sea was the Indian Ocean, and that the lands he had visited belonged to the eastern boundary of Asia. How very far did he under-estimate the grandeur of his achievements! He thought that he had found but a new path to countries known of old, while he had in truth discovered a continent hitherto unimagined, yet rivalling the ancient world in extent. Who will not share in the regret which has been so eloquently expressed, that the gloom, the penury, and disappointment which overcast his latter years, were visited by none of those bright and consoling hopes which would have flowed from the revelation of the future glory of " the splendid empires which were

to spread over the beautiful world he had discovered; and the nations, and tongues, and languages, which were to fill its lands with his renown, and to revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!"*

To secure the possession of the vast countries discovered by Columbus, the King of Spain applied for the sanction of the Pope. Martin V. and other pontiffs had granted to Portugal all the countries which it might discover from Cape Bojador and Cape Nun to the Indies; and the Portuguese monarch now complained that his neighbour in visiting America had violated the rights conferred on him by the Holy Father. While this complaint was undergoing investigation, the court of Castile exerted its influence with Pope Alexander VI.; and on the 4th of May 1493, a Bull was issued, which most materially influenced the future course of maritime discovery. By this important document, the head of the Catholic Church, "with the plenitude of apostolic power, by the authority of God Omnipotent granted to him through blessed Peter, and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which he exercises upon earth," assigned to the Spanish sovereigns "all the islands and main-lands, with all their dominions, cities, castles, places, and towns, and with all their rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, discovered, and which shall be discovered," to the west of an ideal line drawn from pole to pole, at the distance of a hundred leagues westward of the Azores. Thus did Spain at once acquire "an empire far more extensive than that

* History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus, by Washington Irving, vol. iv. p. 61,—an admirable book, in which industry of research, elegance and loftiness of thought and diction, have combined to rear a work, which, surpassing all others on the subject, will itself probably never be surpassed.

which seven centuries of warfare obtained for the Romans!"* This munificent grant was accompanied with one important injunction: Alexander adjured the sovereigns "by the holy obedience which you owe us, that you appoint to the said main-lands and islands upright men and fearing God, learned, skilful, and expert in instructing the foresaid natives and inhabitants in the Catholic faith, and in teaching them good morals, employing for that purpose all requisite diligence." The terrors of Divine wrath were thundered against those who should infringe the papal grant. "Let no person presume with rash boldness to contravene this our donation, decree, inhibition, and will. For if any person presumes to do so, be it known to him that he will incur the indignation of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul."† Even by orthodox princes, however, these threatenings were held light. As has been remarked by Purchas, "the Portugalls

* Memoir of Columbus, by D. G. B. Spotorno, Professor of Eloquence in the University of Genoa, published in "Memorials of Columbus, or a Collection of authentic Documents of that celebrated Navigator, now first published from the original Manuscripts, by order of the Decurions of Genoa. Translated from the Spanish and Italian." London, 1823. 8vo.

† The original Bull may be consulted in Purchas, vol. i. p. 13-15. A translation from a copy exhibiting some variations, but of no great consequence, is inserted in the "Memorials of Columbus" above quoted, document xxxvii. p. 172-183. This last has been followed in the quotations given in the present work. The copy in Purchas is accompanied by a chapter of "Animadversions on the said Bull of Pope Alexander," which cannot fail to gratify the curious in abuse and invective, in which it will scarcely yield the palm to any of the "flytings" of our earlier Scottish poets, or to the controversial writings of Scaliger, Milton, or Salmasius. In one sentence Alexander is called "Heire of all the Vices of all the Popes,"—"the Plague-sore into that Chayre of Pestylence,"—"the Monster of Men, or indeed rather an incarnate Devill,"—so necessary did Purchas consider it "not to suffer this Bull to passe unbaited!"

regarded them not; and not the Bull, but other compromise stayed them from open hostilitie." By an agreement between the two nations of the Peninsula, concluded in 1494, it was covenanted, that the line of partition described in the ecclesiastical document should be extended 270 leagues farther to the west, and that all beyond this boundary should belong to Castile, and all to the eastward to Portugal.* Thus their territories were defined with sufficient certainty on one side of the globe; but the limits on the other were left perfectly vague, and became a fertile subject of dispute.

Meantime, the Portuguese had achieved the grand object which they had so long laboured to attain. In 1486, Bartholomew Diaz reached the southern extremity of Africa, which he named the Cape of Storms; but the Portuguese monarch gave it the more auspicious title of Good Hope. Eleven years after, Vasco de Gama doubled this dreaded promontory, and conducted a fleet to the rich shores of India,—an event which was destined to exercise on the career of American discovery more than an indirect influence, powerful as that was. The vast

* This agreement (sometimes called the treaty of Tordesillas) was concluded on 7th June, but was not subscribed by Ferdinand till 2d July 1493, and by John not till 27th February 1494. It was confirmed by a Bull in 1506. The late Admiral Burney, whose work we will have occasion so often to mention with respect, writes of this agreement,—"At the instance of the Portuguese, with the consent of the Pope, in 1494 the line of partition was by agreement removed 270 leagues more to the west, *that it might accord with their possessions in the Brazils.*"—Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea, vol. i. p. 4. It is impossible to admit the existence of the motive here assigned; for Brazil was not discovered by Cabral until six years after the date of the agreement.—Purchas, vol. i. p. 30. Robertson's Hist. of America, book ii. Irving's Columbus, iii. 147, and authorities there quoted. —It is proper to mention that Burney is by no means singular in this mistake.

treasures which Portugal drew from countries where the harvest of the adventurer was prepared before he visited the field, mightily inflamed the avidity of Spain, and breathed a new spirit of ardour into her enterprises. Nor did the former kingdom fail to contribute her exertions towards extending the knowledge of the new continent. In the year 1500, the second expedition which was fitted out for India, under the command of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, standing westward to clear the shores of Africa, discovered the coast of Brazil, and took possession of it in name of the Portuguese crown. It has been well observed by an eminent writer on this subject, "that Columbus' discovery of the New World was the effort of an active genius, enlightened by science, guided by experience, and acting upon a regular plan, executed with no less courage than perseverance. But from this adventure of the Portuguese, it appears that chance might have accomplished that great design which it is now the pride of human reason to have formed and perfected. If the sagacity of Columbus had not conducted mankind to America, Cabral, by a fortunate accident, might have led them a few years later to the knowledge of that extensive continent."*

We have seen that even Portugal yielded but a scanty deference to the right which the Pope had usurped of bestowing the world at his will; and England was still less inclined to acquiesce in such an as-

* Robertson's History of America, book ii. Care must be taken not to overvalue the merits of Cabral. It should be recollected that his discovery was the result of chance; and farther, that Brazil had been visited some months previously by Diego Lepe, and still earlier by Vicente Yanez Pinzon, who was the first to cross the equator in the Atlantic.

sumption of power. So early as 1497, an armament sailed from this country, conducted, under letters-patent from Henry VII., by John Cabot, a native of Venice settled at Bristol, and by his three sons, Louis, Sebastian, and Sanchez.* The object appears to have been to find a western passage northwards of the new Spanish discoveries, and by this route to reach India. In prosecution of this great scheme, Cabot, on the 24th of June 1497, approached the American continent, probably at Newfoundland; and his son Sebastian, in two successive voyages, performed in 1498 and 1517, explored a large extent of the coast, from Hudson's Bay on the north as far as Florida on the south. Although unsuccessful in the attainment of their immediate purpose, these expeditions have justly entitled the English to the high distinction of being the first discoverers of the main-land of America,—Columbus not having seen any part of it till the 1st of August 1498. In 1500, three years after the first voyage of Cabot, Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese gentleman, under the sanction of King Emanuel, pursued the track of the Cabots with the same views. Sailing along the east coast of Newfoundland, he reached the northern extremity of that island, and entered the mouth of the St Lawrence, which, with no small show of probability, he concluded to be the opening into the

* A late acute writer has started a question as to the comparative agency of John and Sebastian Cabot. (Memoir of Sebastian Cabot. London, 1831; p. 42, et seq.) This point has been amply considered in a previous volume of this Library, to which reference is made for a minute relation of the discoveries of the Cabots.—Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, chap. i., and Appendix. Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX.

west that he was seeking. He proceeded also along the coast of Labrador, and appears to have advanced nearly as far as to Hudson's Bay.

While England and Portugal were thus examining the coasts of the New World, Spain, which had first opened the path, pursued it with unabated zeal and activity. The peculiar circumstances of that country afforded much encouragement to the spirit of adventure. The long war she had waged with the Moors, and the high and romantic feelings which animated that contest, fostered a strong desire of excitement, and an ardent love of enterprise, which found in the regions discovered by Columbus an ample and inexhaustible field. "Chivalry left the land and launched upon the deep; the Spanish cavalier embarked in the caravel of the discoverer." Year after year her ports poured forth fresh expeditions, while national enthusiasm was almost daily excited by rumours of new countries far richer and more fertile than any previously known. The details of these navigations, however, more properly belong to another work; and it will be sufficient in this place briefly to allude to their chief results. In 1500, Rodrigo de Bastides explored the northern coast of Tierra Firma, from the Gulf of Darien to Cape de Vela, from about the 73d to the 79th degree of west longitude. In the same year, Vicente Yanez Pinzon doubled Cape San Augustine, discovered the Maragnon or River of Amazons, and sailed northward along the coast to the island of Trinidad. The same active voyager engaged in several other expeditions; and in one of these, in which he was accompanied by Diaz de Solis, made known to Europeans the province of Yucatan. Almost con-

temporaneously with the first voyage of Pinzon, his townsman, Diego Lepe, pursuing nearly the same path, added largely to the knowledge of the coasts of Brazil. In 1512, Juan Ponce de Leon set sail in quest of the fabled island of Bimini, where flowed the miraculous Fountain of Youth, whose waters were of such wonderful power that whosoever bathed in them was restored to the vigour of early manhood. Though this fairy region was in vain sought for, the important discovery of the blooming coast of Florida was achieved.

In the succeeding year, 1513, the Spaniards at length reached that ocean of which they had heard many vague rumours from the natives of Tierra Firma. The honour of this discovery is due to Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a man sprung from a decayed family, and who, first appearing in the New World as a mere soldier of fortune, of dissolute habits and of desperate hopes, had, by courage and intrigue, raised himself to the government of a small colony established at Santa Maria in Darien. In one of his forays against the native inhabitants, when in this command, he procured a large quantity of gold. While he was dividing the treasure among his followers, much disputing took place in the presence of a young cacique, who, disdaining brawls for what seemed to him so mean an object, struck the scales with his hand, and scattered the gold on the ground, exclaiming, "Why should you quarrel for such a trifle? If this gold is indeed so precious in your eyes, that for it you forsake your homes, invade the peaceful lands of strangers, and expose yourselves to such sufferings and perils, I will tell you of a province where you may gratify your wishes to the utmost.

Behold those lofty mountains!" he said, pointing to the south, "beyond these lies a mighty sea, which may be discerned from their summit. It is navigated by people who have vessels not much less than yours, and furnished like them with sails and oars. All the streams which flow down the southern side of those mountains into that sea abound in gold; and the kings who reign upon its borders eat and drink out of golden vessels. Gold is as plentiful and common among these people of the south as iron is among you Spaniards." From the moment in which he heard this intelligence, the mind of Vasco Nunez became occupied with this one object, and he steadfastly devoted all his thoughts and actions to the discovery of the southern sea indicated by this chief. Many difficulties, however, retarded the undertaking, and it was not till the 1st of September 1513, that he set forth, accompanied by no more than a hundred and ninety soldiers. After incredible toil in marching through hostile tribes, he at length approached the base of the last ridge he had to climb, and rested there for the night. On the 26th of September, with the first glimmering of light, he commenced the ascent, and by ten o'clock had reached the brow of the mountain, from the summit of which he was assured he would see the promised ocean. Here Vasco Nunez made his followers halt, and mounted alone to the bare hill-top. What must have been his emotions when he reached the summit! Below him extended forests, green fields, and winding rivers, and beyond he beheld the South Sea, illuminated by the morning sun. At this glorious sight he fell on his knees, and extending his arms towards the ocean, and weeping for

joy, returned thanks to Heaven for being the first European who had been permitted to behold these long-sought waters. He then made signs to his companions to ascend, and when they obtained a view of the magnificent scene, a priest who was among them began to chant the anthem "Te deum laudamus," all the rest kneeling and joining in the solemn strain. This burst of pious enthusiasm is strangely contrasted with the feelings of avarice to which, even in the moment of exultation, their leader surrendered his mind, when he congratulated them on the prospect "of becoming, by the favour of Christ, the richest Spaniards that ever came to the Indies." After this he caused a tall tree to be felled, and formed into a cross, which was erected on the spot whence he first beheld the western deep. He then began to descend from the mountains to the shores of the new-found ocean; and on the 29th of September reached a vast bay, named by him San Miguel, from the festival on which it was discovered. Unfurling a banner, whereon was painted a figure of the Virgin with the arms of Castile at her feet, he marched with his drawn sword in his hand and his buckler on his shoulder knee-deep into the rushing tide, and, in a loud voice, took possession of the sea and of all the shores it washed. He concluded the ceremony by cutting with his dagger a cross on a tree that grew in the water; and his followers, dispersing themselves in the forest, expressed their devotion by carving similar marks with their weapons. Vasco Nunez then betook himself to pillage: He exacted from the natives contributions in gold and provisions; and being told of a country to the south where the people possessed abundance of gold, and

used beasts of burden, the rude figure of the lama traced on the beach suggested to him the camel, and confirmed him in the opinion that he had reached "the gates of the East Indies." From the circumstance of the ocean having been first descried from the Isthmus of Darien, which runs nearly east and west, it received the name of the South Sea,—a title which, however accurately applied to the part first seen, is employed with little propriety to designate the whole vast expanse of the Pacific. Tidings of this great discovery were immediately transmitted to Spain, and received with delight and triumph. But instead of rewarding so important a service, the court despatched a governor to supersede Balboa, who, by the perfidy of his successor, was publicly executed in 1517.*

Meantime the colony on the Darien continued to extend their knowledge of the western ocean, to make excursions in barks, and to form small settlements in the vicinity. Larger vessels were soon constructed; and violently taking possession of some small islands in the Gulf of San Miguel, which they named the Pearl Islands, the Spaniards extorted from their conquered subjects a large annual tribute drawn from the treasures of the deep.

As the hope decayed of finding a passage to India through a strait in the American continent, the design was formed of establishing a regular intercourse by the Isthmus of Darien; and a settlement was accordingly fixed at Panama, whence vessels were to visit

* The extraordinary career of Vasco Nunez de Balboa has of late been invested with a new interest by the elegant memoir of Don Manuel Josef Quintana,—an English translation of which, by Mrs Hodson, appeared at Edinburgh in 1832.

the eastern shores of Asia. This scheme, however, failed of success. Within a month after the ships destined for the voyage had been launched, their planks were so destroyed by worms as to render them quite useless. No better success had followed an attempt which was made in 1515 to find an opening into the Austral Ocean, in more southern latitudes. The commander of the expedition, Juan Diaz de Solis, in exploring the country at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, fell into an ambuscade and lost his life. Upon this disaster, the undertaking was abandoned, and the vessels returned to Spain.

Such was the knowledge obtained of the South Sea prior to the year 1519. Its waters had indeed been discovered, and the highest hopes formed of its treasures as well as of the rich lands washed by its billows. But all attempts to explore its vast expanse had failed; and the seamen who boldly crossed the broad Atlantic were content to creep cautiously along the gulfs and creeks of this newly-reached ocean. No strait had yet been found to connect its waves with those of seas already known and navigated; it seemed to be hemmed in by inaccessible barriers; and the great continent of America, which had been regarded as a main object of discovery, was now in some degree considered as an obstacle in the path to farther enterprise.

CHAPTER II.

Circumnavigation of Magellan.

Magellan's Birth and Services—Proposals to the Spanish Court accepted—Sails on his Voyage—Anchors at Port San Julian—Transactions there—Description of the Natives—Discovers the Strait—Enters the South Sea—The Unfortunate Islands—The Ladrones—The Island of Mazagua or Limasava—Zebu—Intercourse with the Natives—Death of Magellan—His Character—Fleet proceeds to Borneo—Arrives at Tidore—The Ship Vitoria reaches Spain—Fate of the Trinidad—Results of the Expedition.

THE glory of discovering a path to the South Sea, and of overcoming the difficulties which had hitherto impeded the navigation of its waters, is due to Fernando de Magalhanes, Magalhaens, or, as it has been more commonly written in this country, Magellan.* He was by birth a Portuguese, and sprung from a noble family. He had served in India with much honour under the standard of the famous Albuquerque, and had there made considerable acquirements in practical seamanship. To these were added no mean scientific attainments, and much informa-

* In Hawkesworth's account of the first voyage of Captain Cook (Hawkes. Coll. vol. ii. p. 41, London, 1773), appears the following note:—"The celebrated navigator who discovered this streight was a native of Portugal, and his name, in the language of his country, was *Fernando de Magalhaens*; the Spaniards call him *Hernando Magalhanes*, and the French *Magellan*, which is the orthography that has been generally adopted: a gentleman, the fifth in descent from this great adventurer, is now living in or near London, and communicated the true name of his ancestor to Mr [Sir Joseph] Banks, with a request that it might be inserted in this work."

tion, derived from a correspondence with some of the first geographers and most successful navigators of those days. The grounds on which he projected his great undertaking have not been accurately recorded. It has been supposed he was struck with the circumstance that the South American continent trends still more to the westward in proportion as the higher latitudes are attained; that he concluded from this, that in shape it was probably similar to Africa; and that its southern extremity must be washed by an open sea, through which there would necessarily be an entrance into the ocean beyond. There have not been wanting persons, however, to ascribe the honour of this discovery to Martin Behem,—a distinguished geographer of that age, to whom also has been given the merit of having anticipated Columbus in finding the New World. But the pretensions set forth in behalf of this individual have been traced to an error in attributing to him the construction of a globe made many years after his death, which took place in 1506.* This date is fatal to his claim, as at that time the South Sea itself was not discovered. It must be remembered, likewise, that for many years afterwards, the best mariners of Spain searched unsuccessfully for the strait in question, which they could hardly have missed, if, as is alleged, it had been laid down in the charts of Behem.

Magellan first made an offer of his service to his own sovereign, who, says Fray Gaspar,† "did not choose

* Irving's Columbus. Appendix, No. xii. vol. iv. p. 205–212. See also Burney's Discov. in the South Sea, i. 45–48.

† Conquest of the Philippine Islands. The principal authorities for the voyage of Magellan are Herrera, Barros, and Pigafetta. This last author, a native of Vicenza in Italy, accompanied the expedition. From an imperfect copy of his narrative, an account was compiled by Purchas, vol. i. book i. chap. ii. The first perfect

to hear it, nor to give it any confidence, but dismissed him with a frown and singular disgrace, very different from what was due to the proposal of Magalhanes, and the reputation he had acquired for his valour." Thus did Portugal, after having rejected the greatest honour in the career of discovery,—the finding of America,—spurn away the second,—the glory of the first circumnavigation of the globe.—Magellan, accompanied by Ruy Falero, a native astrologer who was associated with him in the enterprise, then determined to go to the Spanish court and tender the fame and profit of his undertaking to the Emperor Charles V. He arrived at Valladolid, where his majesty then was, about 1517, and his proposals were listened to with attention and respect. We are told by Herrera that he brought with him a globe fairly painted, on which he had described the lands and seas, and the track he meant to pursue, but carefully left the strait blank, that they might not anticipate his design. This precaution (if the tale is to be credited) was a bitter satire on the little faith to be reposed in the honour of princes, but it was not used without good reason; for Magellan had before him the example of John II. of Portugal, who, having gathered from Columbus the theory of his great project, with singular

edition was published from a manuscript in the Ambrosian Library, by C. Amoretti:—"Primo Viaggio intorno al globo terracqueo. Milano, 1800." This has since been translated into the French and English languages. In the "Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, by Alexander Dalrymple," London, 1769, will be found translations of Herrera, Barros, and Gaspar, arranged in a manner that much facilitates a comparison between their varying statements. It is to be regretted that Dalrymple has only treated of the voyage of Magellan down to his entry into the Pacific. Burney has diligently examined all the authorities with his usual acumen and perseverance, and has woven the whole into a comprehensive and discriminating narrative.

meanness, secretly despatched a vessel to make the attempt, and rob the discoverer of his honours.

The emperor, on considering the proposals of Magellan, was so much gratified as to confer on him several distinctions. Articles of agreement were drawn out to the following effect:—The navigator, and his countryman, Ruy Falero, agreed to reach the Moluccas by sailing to the west; it was stipulated that they were to enjoy a ten years' monopoly of the track which they explored, and to receive a twentieth part of all the revenue and profits, which, after deducting the expenses, should accrue from their discoveries. He was also to enjoy the title of Adelantado over the seas and lands he should happen to make known. Certain privileges of merchandise were conceded to him and his associate, including a fifth part of all that the ships should bring home in the first voyage: the emperor agreed to furnish for the expedition five vessels, two of 130 tons, two of ninety, and one of sixty; and this fleet was to be victualled for two years, and provided with 234 men.

These articles were concluded in Saragossa, and Magellan then repaired to Seville, where, in the church of Santa Maria de la Vitoria de Triana, the royal standard of Spain was formally delivered to him; and he took a solemn oath that he would perform the voyage with all faithfulness as a good vassal of the emperor. His squadron was composed of the Trinidad, the San Antonio, the Vitoria, the Concepcion, and the Santiago; but the period of sailing was retarded by the interference of the Portuguese king, who threw every obstacle in the way of the enterprise which he himself had not either the spirit or the generosity to encourage. He even en-

deavoured to entice Magellan from the Spanish service by promises of more advantageous terms. Failing in this, he is supposed to have countenanced various reports which were circulated against the fame of the adventurer; while others among his countrymen predicted, that "the King of Spain would lose the expenses, for Fernando Magalhanes was a chattering fellow, and little reliance to be placed in him, and that he would not execute what he promised."*

At length this renowned leader sailed from San Lucar on the 20th, or, according to some accounts, on the 21st of September 1519. His first destination was the Canary Islands, where he stopped to take in wood and water; and on the 13th December following he came to anchor in a port, which was named Santa Lucia, in 23½ degrees of south latitude, and on the coast of Brazil. This has sometimes been supposed the Rio de Janeiro of the Portuguese; but modern observation does not confirm the opinion. The natives appeared a confiding, credulous, good-hearted race, and readily gave provisions in exchange for trifling wares; half-a-dozen fowls were obtained for a king of spades, and the bargain was considered to be equally good by both parties. Pigafetta says,—"They were very long lived, generally reaching 105 and sometimes 140 years of age."

Weighing anchor on the 27th, the squadron sailed southward, and, on the 11th January 1520, reached Cape Santa Maria on the Rio de la Plata, where they took in supplies. Near this place Juan Diaz de Solis about five years before had been murdered by the natives, on which account they kept at a distance from their visiters. Putting again to sea,

* Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. x.

and touching at different places, the fleet, on Easter Eve, came to anchor in a port which was named San Julian; and there Magellan remained five months. Discontent, and at last open mutiny, broke out in his ships, the ringleaders being certain Spanish officers, who felt mortified at serving under a Portuguese commander. The first step taken to restore order, however much it might accord with the character of that rude age, cannot be reconciled with our notions of honourable conduct: a person was despatched with a letter to one of the captains, with orders to stab him whilst he was engaged in reading it. This commission being unscrupulously executed, and followed up by measures equally prompt in regard to the other mutineers, the authority of the captain-general was soon fully re-established.

While the fleet lay in this harbour, the Santiago, one of the ships, made an exploratory cruise; and on the 3d May, the anniversary of the Finding of the Holy Cross, discovered the river named Santa Cruz. Having advanced about three leagues farther to the south, the vessel was wrecked, though the crew, after suffering very great hardships, ultimately rejoined the squadron. The long period which they passed on that coast enabled the Spaniards to form an intimate acquaintance with the natives. They had at first concluded that the country was uninhabited; but one day an Indian, well made and of gigantic size, came capering and singing to the beach, throwing dust upon his head in token of amity. A seaman was forthwith sent on shore, and directed to imitate the gestures of this merry savage, who was of such immense stature, says Pigafetta, that a middle-sized Castilian only reached to his waist. He was large in

proportion, and altogether, a formidable apparition; his broad face being stained red, save a yellow circle about his eyes, and two heart-shaped spots on his cheeks. His hair was covered with a white powder. His clothing, formed of the skin of the guanaco,* covered his body from head to foot, being wrapped round the arms and legs, and sewed together all in one piece, like the dress of the ancient Irish. Shoes fabricated of the hide of the same animal, which made the feet appear round and large, procured for his whole tribe the name of Pata-gones, or *clumsy-hoofed.* The arms of this individual were a stout bow and arrows,—the former strung with gut, the latter tipped with flint-stones sharpened. He ascended the ship of the captain-general, where he appeared quite at his ease, ate, drank, and made merry, till, seeing his own image in a large steel mirror, he started back in alarm, and threw down four Spaniards. The good reception of this giant brought more to the beach, who were taken on board and feasted, six of them eating as much as would have satisfied twenty seamen. The first Indian had pointed to the sky, as if to inquire whether the Europeans had descended thence; and they all wondered that the ships should be so large and the men so small. They were in general dressed and armed alike. They had short hair, and carried their arrows stuck in a fillet bound round their heads. They ran with amazing swiftness, and devoured their meat raw as soon as it was obtained. These savages practised bleeding by rudely

* The *camelus huanacus* of Linnæus, a species of lama. This animal, described by Pigafetta as having the body of a camel, the legs of a stag, the tail of a horse, and the head and ears of a mule, excited great amazement among the Spanish seamen.

cupping the part affected, and produced vomiting by thrusting an arrow pretty far down the throat of the patient. Magellan wished to carry home some of this singular race; and European craft was basely opposed to Indian confidence and credulity. Fixing on two of the youngest and most handsome, he presented to them knives, glass beads, and mirrors, till their hands were filled; then rings of iron were offered; and as they were eager to possess them but could not take hold of any more articles, the fetters were put upon their legs, as if to enable them the more conveniently to carry these ornaments away. On discovering the treachery, they vainly struggled for freedom, and shrieked to their god *Setebos*.* Besides these prisoners, the captain-general was desirous of securing two females, that the breed of giants might be introduced into Europe; but though the women, whose stature was not so remarkable, were far from beautiful, their husbands betrayed considerable symptoms of jealousy; and, as they were more seldom seen, an opportunity of entrapping them could not be found. It was therefore resolved to seize other two men, in the

* "They say," writes Pigafetta, "that when any of them die, there appeare ten or twelve devils leaping and dancing about the bodie of the dead, and seeme to have their bodies painted with divers colours, and that among others there is one seene bigger than the residue, who maketh great mirth and rejoycing. This great Devill they call Setebos, and call the lesse Cheleule"—Purchas, vol. i. p. 35. It has been supposed that from this passage Shakspeare borrowed the demon Setebos, introduced in the Tempest, act i. scene ii.:—

> "I must obey: his art is of such power,
> It would control my dam's god, Setebos,
> And make a vassal of him."

There are other passages in the play of which the hint may have been taken from the narrative of Pigafetta.

hope of effecting an exchange. Force, however, was not so successful as stratagem, and it was with difficulty that nine of the strongest Spaniards threw them down. One of the savages broke loose even in spite of every effort to detain him; and in the end the plan failed, for the other made his escape, and Magellan lost one of his own men, who was shot with a poisoned arrow in the pursuit. His companions, who fired on the runaways, "were unable," says Pigafetta, "to hit any, on account of their not escaping in a straight line, but leaping from one side to another, and getting on as swiftly as horses at a full gallop."

On the 21st August, the fleet left Port San Julian, after taking possession of the country for the King of Spain by the customary ceremonial of erecting a cross,—the symbol of salvation, so often degraded into an ensign of rapacity and cruelty in the fairest portions of the New World. Two months were afterwards passed at Santa Cruz, where the squadron was well supplied with wood and water; and, on the 18th October, standing southward, they discovered Cape de las Virgines, and shortly afterwards the desired strait. After careful examination of the entrance, a council was held, at which the pilot, Estevan Gomez, voted for returning to Spain to refit; while the more resolute spirits recommended that they should proceed and complete their discovery.* Magellan heard all in silence, and

* Gomez was by birth a Portuguese; and it has been alleged, that the insidious advice which he gave on this occasion, and his mutiny and desertion at a later period, were dictated by a desire to promote the interests of Portugal. See Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, p. 126.—Another motive for the treachery of Gomez has been assigned by Pigafetta, viz. that he had previously engaged

then firmly declared, that were he, instead of the slighter hardships already suffered, reduced to eat the hides on the ship's yards, his determination was to make good his promise to the emperor. On pain of death, every one was forbidden to speak of the shortness of provisions or of home,—which, though a somewhat unsatisfactory mode of stifling the pangs of hunger or the longings of affection, equally well answered the purpose of the captain-general. Pigafetta makes no mention of the council; but says the whole crew were persuaded that the strait had no western outlet, and would not have explored it but for the firmness of Magellan.

Two vessels were sent to examine the opening, and a hurricane coming on drove them violently thirty-six hours, during which they were in momentary alarm lest they should be forced ashore. The coasts more than once seemed to approach each other, on which the voyagers gave themselves up for lost; but new channels successively opened, into which they gladly entered. In this manner they were led on till they had penetrated the First and Second Gut, when the gale having abated, they thought it most prudent to retrace their course, and report what they had observed to the commander. Two days had already passed, and the captain-general was not without fear that his consorts must have been cast away in the tempest; while smoke being observed on shore, it was concluded to be a signal made by those who had had the good fortune to escape. Just at this instant, however, the ships

himself in the Spanish service, and had been appointed to, or promised the command of, a small squadron, to sail on a projected enterprise, which was laid aside on the arrival of Magellan in Spain.

were seen returning under full sail, with flags flying; as they came nearer, the crews fired their bombards and uttered shouts of joy. These salutations were repeated by their anxious companions; and, on learning the result of the search, the whole squadron advanced, having named the land where the smoke was seen Tierra del Fuego. On reaching the expanse into which the Second Gut opens, an inlet to the south-east was observed, and two vessels were despatched to explore it, while the others steered to the south-west. Estevan Gomez was pilot in one of the ships sent on the former service; and, knowing that Magellan no longer lay between him and the open sea, he incited the crew to mutiny, threw the captain into chains, and under the darkness of night put about the helm and shaped his course homeward. This recreant had on board with him one of the giants, whom he calculated upon being the first to present at the court of Spain; but the poor prisoner pined under the heat of the tropical regions, and died on approaching the line. In the mean time, the commander of the expedition pursued the channel to the south-west, and anchored at the mouth of a river, where he resolved to wait the arrival of the other vessels; he ordered a boat, however, to proceed and reconnoitre, and on the third day the sailors returned with the intelligence that they had seen the end of the strait, and the ocean beyond it. "We wept for joy," says Pigafetta, "and the cape was denominated Il Capo Deseado, for in truth we had long wished to see it." Public thanksgiving was also made; and after spending several days in a vain search for the deserter, and erecting several standards in conspicuous situations,

the three remaining ships stood towards the western mouth of the strait, which they reached thirty-seven days after discovering Cape de las Virgines. Magellan entitled this long-sought passage the Strait of the Patagonians,—a name which has been justly superseded by that of the discoverer. He found it to be so deep, that anchorage could only be obtained by approaching near to the shore; and estimated the length of it at 110 leagues. Pigafetta relates, that during the voyage he "talked with the Patagonian giant" on board of the captain-general's ship, and obtained some words of his native language, so as to form a small vocabulary, which, as far as subsequent inquiries afford the means of judging, is substantially correct.

It was the 28th of November when the small squadron gained the open sea, and held a northerly course, in order to reach a milder climate (the crews having already suffered severely from extreme cold), as well as to escape the storms usually encountered about the western opening of the strait.

On the 24th January 1521, they discovered an island, which was named San Pablo in memory of the Patagonian, who had died, after being baptized, it is alleged, at his own request; and on the 4th February another small island was seen, and called Tiburones, or Sharks' Island. The crews had now suffered so much from the want of provisions and fresh water, and from the ravages of the scurvy,* that, depressed

* As Pigafetta describes the effects of this disease without naming it, it is obvious that to its severity was then added the terror of a new and strange visitation. "Our greatest misfortune," he says, "was being attacked by a malady in which the gums swelled so as to hide the teeth as well in the upper as the lower jaw, whence

by their condition and prospects, they named these discoveries Las Desventuradas, or the Unfortunate Islands. Their sufferings, for three months and twenty days after entering the Pacific, were painful in the extreme. Nineteen died of scurvy; and the situation of the remainder, reduced to chew the leather found about the ship, and to drink putrid water, was in the highest degree deplorable. Even sawdust was eaten, and mice were in such request as to sell for half a ducat a-piece. Their only solace was a continuance of delightful weather, and of fair winds which carried them smoothly onwards. To this circumstance the South Sea owes its name of Pacific,—a title which many succeeding seamen have thought it ill deserves. On the 6th of March were discovered three beautiful and apparently fertile islands, inhabited, and therefore likely to afford succour to the fleet. The Indians immediately came off in their canoes, bringing cocoa-nuts, yams, and rice. Their complexion was olive-brown, and their form handsome; they stained the teeth black and red, and some of them wore long beards, with the hair of their heads hanging down to the girdle. On these poor islanders, whose pilfering propensities obtained for this group the appellation of the Ladrones (or Thieves), the captain-general took signal vengeance for a small offence. A skiff was stolen from the stern of the capitana, or admiral's ship, upon which Magellan landed with

those affected thus were incapable of chewing their food. Besides those who died, we had from twenty-five to thirty sailors ill, who suffered dreadful pains in their arms, legs, and other parts of the body." Some years later, when the crews of Cartier were seized by the same disorder, it appeared to them also equally novel and loathsome.—See Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, p. 64.

ninety men, plundered their provisions, and burnt fifty or sixty of their houses,* which were built of wood, having a roof of boards covered with leaves about four feet in length, probably those of the bananier (*musa pisang*). He also killed some of the natives, to whom the arrow was an unknown weapon, and who, when pierced by the shafts of the Spaniards, excited pity by vain attempts to extract them. They had lances tipt with fish-bone; and when the invaders retreated, they followed with about 100 canoes, variously painted, black, white, or red, and showed fish, as if disposed to renew their traffic; but on getting near they pelted the people in the ships with stones, and then took to flight. The boats of these savages resembled gondolas, and were furnished

* P. le Gobien, in his History of the Ladrone or Marian Islands, has asserted, that at the time Magellan arrived, the natives were altogether ignorant of fire, and that, when for the first time they saw it consuming their houses, they regarded it as an animal which attached itself to the wood, and fed upon it. This tale has been adopted by the Abbé Raynal, in his History of the East and West Indies, and has served him as a topic for ample declamation; and the Abbé Prévost, in his "Histoire générale des Voyages," has also given it credit, quoting as his authority the narrative of Pigafetta. As, however, was very early remarked by the President de Brosses, in his "Histoire des Navigations aux Terres Australes," Pigafetta, credulous and fabulous as he is, has made no mention of this circumstance. This alone might be held sufficient to disprove the unsupported assertion of Le Gobien. But, as Malte Brun has observed (English Translat. vol. iii. p. 618), "*these islands are filled with volcanoes*," —a circumstance of which Raynal was not aware, as he accounts for this supposed ignorance of fire, by assuming the fact that here there are "none of those terrible volcanoes, the destructive traces of which are indelibly marked on the face of the globe." Nor is this all; a later French navigator remarks, "Les insulaires chez qui on assure que le feu étoit inconnu, avoient dans leurs langues les mots *feu, bruler, charbon, braise, four, griller, bouillir, &c. et fabriquoient, avant l'arrivée des Européens dans leurs îles, des poteries évidemment soumises à l'action du feu.*"—Voyage autour du Monde, executé sur les Corvettes de S. M. l'Uranie et la Physicienne pendant les années 1817-18-19 et 20. Par M. Louis de Freycinet.—Historique, tome ii. p. 166. See also pp. 322, 434.

with a sail of palm-leaves, which was hoisted at the one side, while, to balance it, a beam or outrigger was fastened to the other. Vessels of the same construction were afterwards observed in the South Sea by Anson and Cook, who very much admired the ingenuity of the contrivance. From the 16th to the 18th of March, other islands were discovered, forming the group then called the Archipelago of St Lazarus, but now known as part of the Philippines. The inhabitants were found to be a friendly and comparatively-civilized people. They wore ornaments of gold; and, though otherwise nearly naked, displayed cotton head-dresses embroidered with silk. They were tattooed, and had their bodies perfumed with aromatic oils. They cultivated the land, and formed stores of spices; they used harpoons and nets in fishing; and had cutlasses, clubs, lances, and bucklers, some of them ornamented with gold. On the 25th, the fleet left Humunu, the principal member of the group, and afterwards touched at some others in the same archipelago.

At a small island named Mazagua, and supposed to be the Limasava of modern charts, a slave on board, by name Enrique and a native of Sumatra, was able to make himself understood by the savages. He accordingly acted as the interpreter of Magellan in explaining the reasons of this visit on the part of the Spaniards, and in unfolding the terms of commerce and friendly intercourse which they wished to establish with them. Mutual presents were made, and ceremonial visits exchanged; the captain-general doing every thing likely to impress the Indian king with the power and superiority of Europeans and the dignity of the emperor his master. For this purpose he

caused a sailor to be clothed in complete armour, and directed three others to cut at him with swords and endeavour to stab him. On seeing the mailed man remain unharmed amid this shower of steel, the island-prince was greatly surprised, and remarked, that a warrior so protected would be able to contend with a hundred. "Yes," replied the interpreter, in the name of the captain, "and each of the three vessels has 200 men armed in the same manner." With this chief Magellan formed a close friendship; and two Spaniards being invited on shore to inspect the curiosities of the country, the chronicler of the voyage was sent as one of them. They partook of an entertainment with the Rajah Colambu, as he was called, and were served in vessels of porcelain. The king's manner of eating was to take alternately a mouthful of pork and a spoonful of wine, lifting his hands to heaven before he helped himself, and suddenly extending his left fist towards his visiter in such a manner that, on his first performing the ceremony, Pigafetta expected to receive a blow on the face. Seeing all the rest of the company go through the same gesticulations, the polite Vicentine conformed to the customs of the place, and having finished his repast, was otherwise very graciously treated, being introduced to the heir-apparent, and left at night to repose on a comfortable matting of reeds, with pillows of leaves to support his head. Among the luxuries of Mazagua were candles made of gums, rolled up in the foliage of the palm-tree. The sovereign was a remarkably handsome man, of olive complexion, with long black hair; his body elegantly tattooed, and perfumed with storax and gum-benjamin. He was adorned with gold earrings, "and on each of his teeth," says the narrator,

" were three golden dots, so placed one would have thought his teeth had been fastened with this metal."* About his middle he wore a tunic of cotton cloth embroidered with silk, which descended to the knees; around his head was wrapped a silken turban or veil; while a dagger at his side, having a handle of gold and a scabbard of exquisitely-carved wood, completed the costume of this barbaric ruler. It was observed that his subjects enlivened themselves by constantly chewing betel and areca, mixed with a portion of lime. They acknowledged one Supreme Being, whom they called Abba, and worshipped, by lifting their hands towards heaven. At this time was Magellan first seized with the violent desire of making proselytes, in which he easily succeeded. On Easter Day, a party landed to say mass, and all their ceremonies were exactly imitated by the natives. Some of the Spaniards afterwards received the communion; which being ended, " the captain," says Pigafetta, " exhibited a dance with swords, with which the king and his brother seemed much delighted." A large cross garnished with nails and a crown of thorns was then erected on the top of a hill, and the Indians were told that, if duly adored, it would defend them from thunder, tempests, and all calamities. The men then formed into battalions, and having astonished the savages by a discharge of musketry, returned to the ships. Such were the first missionary labours among these islands! Gold was seen in some abundance; but iron was obviously

* Peron mentions small spots of silver on the fore-teeth of some of the people of Timor, fixed to the enamel by a kind of mastic, so firmly that he could not pick them off with his nails; and the man who wore them ate before him without seeming to feel any inconvenience from their whimsical finery.

much more valued, as one of the natives preferred a knife to a doubloon in exchange for some provisions. The commodities brought to the ships were hogs, goats, fowls, rice, millet, maize, cocoa-nuts, oranges, citrons, ginger, and bananas. At the request of the rajah, part of the Spanish crew went on shore to help him in gathering in his crop of rice; but the poor prince, who had assisted on the previous day at mass and afterwards at a banquet, had yielded so far to intemperance that all business was deferred till the morrow, when the seamen discharged this neighbourly office, and shortly afterwards saw harvest-home in Mazagua.

On the 5th of April the fleet sailed, the king attending it in his pirogue. Being unable to keep up with the squadron, he and his retinue were taken on board; and on the 7th of the same month they entered the harbour of Zebu,—an island rendered memorable by the first settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippines. The accounts which the captain-general had received of the riches and power of the sovereign, made it a point of good policy to impress him and his subjects with the greatness of their visiters. The ships therefore entered the port with their colours flying; and a grand salute from all the cannon caused great consternation among the islanders, about 2000 of whom, armed with spears and shields, stood at the water-side, gazing with astonishment at a sight so new to them. An ambassador, attended by the interpreter Enrique, was sent on shore, charged with a message importing the high consideration which "the greatest monarch on earth," and his captain-general, Magellan, entertained for the King of Zebu. He also an-

nounced that the fleet had come to take in provisions, and give merchandise in exchange. The prince, who acted through his ministers, made the strangers welcome, though he insisted on the payment of certain dues. These, however, were dispensed with, in consequence of the representations of a Moorish merchant then in the island, who had heard of the Portuguese conquests in the East; and in a few days, every requisite ceremony being observed, a treaty offensive and defensive was formed. In manners and in social condition this people did not appear to differ from the natives of Mazagua. Their religion, it is true, whatever it was, sat but lightly upon them; for in a few days Magellan converted and baptized half their number. The rite was administered on shore, where a rude chapel was erected. Mass was performed, and every ceremony was observed which could deepen the impression of sanctity; among which, the firing of guns from the ships was not forgotten. The royal family, the Rajah of Mazagua, and many persons of rank, were the first converts; the king receiving the name of Carlos, in honour of the emperor. Among these sudden Christians were also the queen and ladies of the court. Baptism was likewise administered to the eldest princess, daughter of his majesty and wife of his nephew the heir-apparent, a young and beautiful woman. She usually wore a robe of black and white cloth, and on her head a tiara of date-leaves. "Her mouth and nails," adds Pigafetta, "were of a very lively red." One day the queen came in state to hear mass. She was dressed in a garment like that of her daughter, with a silk veil striped with gold flung over her head and shoulders; and three young

girls walked before her, each carrying one of the royal hats. The attendants were numerous, wearing small veils and girdles, or short petticoats of palm-cloth. Her majesty bowed to the altar, and having seated herself on a cushion of embroidered silk, was with the rest sprinkled by the captain-general with rose-water,—"a scent," says the writer already quoted, "in which the women of this country much delight."

A cure performed on the king's brother, who after being baptized recovered of a dangerous illness, completed Magellan's triumph. Pigafetta gravely relates, "we were all of us ocular witnesses of this miracle." By way of help, however, to the supernatural agency, a restorative cordial was immediately administered, and repeated during five days, until the sick man was able to go abroad. The fashionable religion of the court spread rapidly. The cross was set up, idols were broken, amid zealous shouts of "Viva la Castilla!" in honour of the Spanish monarch, and in less than fourteen days from the arrival of the squadron the whole inhabitants of Zebu and the neighbouring islands were baptized, save those of one infidel village, which the captain-general burnt in punishment of their obstinacy, and then erected a cross amidst the ashes and ruins.

Among other customs, the Zebuians drank their wine by sucking it through a reed. At an entertainment given by the prince, the heir-apparent, four singing-girls were introduced. One beat a drum, another the kettle-drum, the third two smaller instruments of the same description, and the fourth struck cymbals against each other; and as they kept

excellent time, the effect was pleasing. The kettle-drums were of metal, and in form and tone somewhat like European bells. Other young women played on gongs; and the islanders had a musical instrument resembling the bagpipe, as well as a sort of violin with copper strings. Their houses were raised on posts, and divided into chambers, the open space below serving as a shed for domestic animals and poultry. Provisions were plentiful, and the Indians every where showed hospitality to their visiters, constantly inviting them to eat and drink. They appeared, indeed, to place much of their enjoyment in the pleasures of the table, at which they often remained four or five hours.

Magellan availed himself of the submissive and respectful demeanour of these people, and exacted from them and the chiefs of the neighbouring islands a tribute, which seems to have been willingly paid. The King of Matan alone refused to acknowledge this new sovereignty, and with much spirit replied to the demand, that as strangers he wished to show them all suitable courtesy, and had sent a present, but he owed no obedience to those he had never seen before, and would pay them none. This answer greatly incensed the captain-general, now above measure elated with the success which had attended his late labours. He forthwith resolved to punish the refractory chief, refusing to listen to the arguments of his officers, and particularly to those of Juan Serrano, who remonstrated with him on the impolicy of his design. Accordingly, on the 27th of April, being a Saturday, which Magellan always considered his fortunate day, he landed with forty-nine of his people clothed in mail, and began an at-

tack on about 1500 Indians. The King of Zebu attended his ally with a force; but his active services were declined, and his men remained in their boats. The battle between crossbows and musketry on the one side, and arrows and wooden lances on the other, raged many hours. The natives, brave from the onset, rose in courage when they became familiarized with the Spanish fire, which did comparatively little execution. A party of the latter was detached to burn a village, in the hope that the destruction of their houses would overawe and induce them to disperse; but the sight of the flames only exasperated them the more, and some of them hastening to the spot, fell upon their enemies and killed two. They soon learned to take aim at the legs of the assailants, which were not protected by mail; and pressing closer and harder upon their ranks, threw them into disorder, and compelled them to give way on all sides. Only seven or eight men now remained with their leader, who, besides, was wounded in the limbs by a poisoned arrow. He was also repeatedly struck on the head with stones; his helmet was twice dashed off; a lance thrust between the bars wounded him in the temple; and his sword-arm being disabled, he could no longer defend himself. The fight continued till they were up to the knees in water; and at last an Indian struck Magellan on the leg. He fell on his face, and as the islanders crowded about him was seen to turn several times towards his companions; but they were unable either to rescue him or revenge his death, and made for the boats. "Thus," says Pigafetta, "perished our guide, our light, and our support!"

Though the rash warfare waged with the un-

offending chief of Matan cannot be vindicated on any principle of justice, the premature and violent death, in the very middle of his career, of a navigator and discoverer second only to Columbus, will ever be a cause of regret. Magellan was eminently endowed with the qualities necessary to a man engaged in adventures like those in which he spent his life. He had a quick and ready mind, ever fertile in expedients, and never wanting in self-possession. He possessed the rare talent of command; being no less beloved than respected by his crews, though Spanish pride and national jealousy made the officers sometimes murmur against his authority. He was a skilful and experienced seaman; prompt, resolute, and inflexible; having a high sense of his own dignity, and maintaining it with becoming spirit. When, on one occasion, certain of the pilots remonstrated with him on the direction of his course, his only answer was, that their duty was to follow him, not to ask questions. In personal appearance, he was rather mean; his stature was short, and he was lame from a wound which he had received in battle with the Moors. His former voyage to India; which he extended to Malacca, and the successful one he had just made, entitle him to be named the first circumnavigator of the globe. The unfortunate circumstances which led him to abandon his native country, in order to serve her foe and rival, long rendered his memory odious in Portugal. The only land, indeed, in which his fame was not acknowledged was the country which gave him birth. "The Portugall authors," says Purchas, "speake of him nothing but treason, and cry out upon him as a traitor for sowing seeds likely to produce warre 'twixt Castile

and Portugall: Nor doe I in those thinges undertake to justifie him. But out of his whatsoever evill, God produced this good to the world, that it was first by his meanes sayled round: Nor was his neglect of his countrey neglected, or revengefull mind unrevenged, as the sequele manifested by his untimely and violent death." It is impossible to condemn Magellan for carrying his rejected services to the Spanish court; though the necessity of such a step must for ever be deplored, both for his own and for his country's sake.*

Eight Spaniards fell with their leader, and twenty-two were wounded. During the heat of the engagement the King of Zebu sat in his balanghay, gazing on the combat, which had doubtless produced a considerable change in his notions as to the prowess of his new allies; but towards its close he rendered some assistance which facilitated their re-embarkation. Though tempting offers were made to the people of Matan to give up the body of the captain-general, they would not part with so proud a trophy of vic-

* A generous feeling has hurried many writers into censures on the King of Portugal, the justice of which may perhaps be doubted. It must be recollected, that the proposal of Magellan to Emanuel went no farther than to undertake the doubtful search of a dangerous passage to the Moluccas; and that the Portuguese already enjoyed the monopoly of a safe and shorter route than that which he eventually explored. His majesty must also have been aware, that the discovery of a western passage to the Spice Islands was likely to give Spain an opportunity of asserting a right to those valuable possessions, under the treaty of Tordesillas. These powerful reasons of state-policy, in an age when self-interest only was consulted in undertakings of discovery, ought surely to have been allowed some weight in favour of the Portuguese court, and, at any rate, to have obviated such obloquy as that of Dalrymple in the following sentence:—"Every public-spirited Portuguese must lament that oblivion has concealed the names of those ministers who merit the eternal execration of their country, for being instrumental in depriving it of the services of so great a man as Magalhanes."—Hist. Collect. of Discov. in the South Sea, vol. i. p. 4.

tory. The result of this fatal battle put an end to the friendship of the new Christian king. He wished to make his peace with the offended sovereign of Matan, and by means of the treacherous slave Enrique, who, on the death of Magellan his master, refused, until compelled by threats, to continue his services as interpreter, formed a plan for seizing the ships, arms, and merchandise. The officers were invited on shore to a banquet, where they expected to receive, previous to their departure, a rich present of jewels, prepared before the death of Magellan for his Most Catholic Majesty. A party landed accordingly to the number of twenty-four; but from certain appearances which met their eyes, Juan Carvallo the pilot, and another Spaniard, suspected treachery, and returned to the ships. They had scarcely reached them, when the shrieks of the victims were heard. The anchors being instantly raised, the vessels were laid close to the shore and fired several shots upon the town. At this time Captain Juan Serrano was seen dragged to the edge of the water, wounded, and tied hand and foot. He earnestly entreated his countrymen to desist from firing, and to ransom him from this cruel and treacherous people. They turned a deaf ear to his prayers; and he was thus left at the mercy of the islanders. Pigafetta relates that, "finding all his entreaties were vain, he uttered deep imprecations, and appealed to the Almighty on the great day of judgment to exact account of his soul from Juan Carvallo, his fellow-gossip. His cries were, however, disregarded," continues the narrator, "and we set sail without ever hearing afterwards what became of him." This cruel abandonment of a friend is imputed to the hope which Car-

vallo entertained of succeeding to the command on the death of Serrano, the captains of the other ships being already massacred. It is but justice to the people of Zebu to mention, that one narrative of the voyage imputes the indiscriminate slaughter of the Spaniards to a quarrel arising between them and the natives, for insulting their women. Some years afterwards it was incidentally learned that, instead of being all murdered, eight of the Europeans were carried to China and sold as slaves. But the truth was never clearly ascertained.

The armament of Magellan next touched at the island of Bohol, where, finding their numbers so much reduced by sickness and the battle of Matan, they burned one of the ships, first removing the guns and stores into the others now commanded by Carvallo. At Zebu they had already heard of the Moluccas, their ultimate destination. They touched at Chippit in Mindanao on their way, and afterwards at Cagayan Sooloo, where they first heard of Borneo. In this voyage they were so badly provided with food, that several times hunger had nearly compelled them to abandon their ships, and establish themselves on some of the islands, where they meant to end their days. This purpose appears to have been particularly strong after leaving the last-mentioned anchorage, where the people used hollow reeds, through which by the force of their breath they darted poisoned arrows at their enemies, and had the hilts of their poniards ornamented with gold and precious stones. The trees, moreover, grew to a great height, but none of the necessary supplies could be obtained. They therefore sailed with heavy hearts and empty stomachs to Puluan, where provisions being very abundant, they acquired fresh

courage to persevere in their voyage. Here a pilot was procured, with whose assistance they steered towards Borneo, which island they reached on the 8th July 1521, and anchored three leagues from the city, which was computed to contain 25,000 families. It was built within high-water-mark, and the houses were raised on posts. At full tide the inhabitants communicated by boats, when the women sold their various commodities. The religion of Borneo was the Mohammedan. It abounded in wealth, and the natives are described as exhibiting a higher degree of civilisation and refinement than has been confirmed by subsequent accounts. Letters were known, and many of the arts flourished among them; they used brass coin in their commerce with one another, and distilled from rice the spirit known in the East by the name of arrack.

Presents were here exchanged, and after the ceremonial of introduction, permission to trade was granted. Elephants were sent to the water's side for the Spanish embassy; and a feast of veal, capons, several other kinds of fowl, and fish, was placed before them on the floor, while they sat on mats made of palm. After each mouthful they sipped arrack from porcelain cups. They were supplied with golden spoons to eat their rice; in their sleeping-apartment two wax flambeaux in silver candlesticks, and two large lamps with four lights to each, were kept burning all night, two men being appointed to attend to them. The king was a stout man about forty. When admitted to an interview, the deputation first passed through a large saloon thronged with courtiers, and then into an ante-room, where were 300 guards armed with poniards. At the extremity of the apartment was a brocade curtain, and when this was drawn

up the king was seen sitting at a table with a little child, and chewing betel, while close behind him were ranged his female attendants. No suitor was permitted to address his majesty personally, but communicated his business in the first place to a courtier, who told it to one of a higher rank, who again repeated it to a still greater dignitary, who, in his turn, by means of a hollow cane fixed in the wall, breathed it into the inner chamber to one of the principal officers, by whom it was ultimately conveyed to the royal ear. The monarch received the Spanish gifts with merely a slight movement of the head, discovering no eager or undignified curiosity, and returned presents of brocade, and cloth of gold and silver. The courtiers were all naked, save a piece of ornamented cloth round their waists. On their fingers they wore many rings; and their poniards had golden handles set with gems. The curtain of the royal saloon, which was raised when the ceremony began, dropped at the conclusion, and all was over. Pigafetta was told that the king had two pearls as large as pullets' eggs, and so perfectly round that, placed on a polished table, they rolled continually. The productions of Borneo were rice, sugar-canes, ginger, camphor, gums, wax; fruits and vegetables in great variety; and among the animals were elephants, camels, horses, and buffaloes, asses, sheep, and goats. The people were peculiarly skilful in the manufacture of porcelain, which constituted a principal article of their merchandise. Their pirogues were ingeniously formed, and those used for state purposes had their prows carved and gilt.

The Spaniards, who seldom or never left any

port they visited on good terms with the people, in real or affected alarm for an attack, seized several junks in the harbour, in which they knew there was a rich booty, and kidnapped some persons of quality.

The authority of Carvallo, which had never been respected, was now set aside by the choice of Espinosa as captain-general. Sebastiân del Cano, a Biscayan, was also made a commander; and the squadron forthwith commenced what more resembled a privateering cruise than a peaceful voyage of discovery and traffic, pillaging all the small vessels they met, and holding the passengers to ransom. Between the north cape of Borneo and the island of Cimbubon, they found a commodious port for careening,—a labour which occupied them forty-two days. They were destitute of many things necessary for making repairs; but the most serious inconvenience was the difficulty of procuring timber, which, although barefooted, they were obliged to drag from among the tangled and prickly bushes. It was among these thickets that Pigafetta found the famous animated leaf, the account of which tended so much at first to stamp his narrative with the character of fable. "What to me seemed most extraordinary," he says, "was to see trees, the leaves of which as they fell became animated. These leaves resemble those of the mulberry-tree, except in not being so long. Their stalk is short and pointed; and near the stalk, on one side and the other, they have two feet. Upon being touched they make away; but when crushed they yield no blood. I kept one in a box for nine days; on opening the box at the end of this time, the leaf was alive and walking round it. I am of opinion they

live on air." Subsequent travellers have observed a similar phenomenon, and some conjecture that it is moved by an insect within; while others describe it as a species of bat, the wings of which exactly resemble a brown leaf with its fibres. Continuing their piratical voyage, they encountered a dreadful storm, and in their alarm vowed to set free a slave in honour of each of the three saints, Elmo, Nicholas, and Clare. The desired lights, the tokens of safety, having appeared on the mast-heads, and continued to shine two hours, the storm abated, and the promised offering was made.* Touching at Sarrangan, they seized two natives, whom they compelled to act as their pilots to the long-sought Moluccas, which they at length reached, and on the 8th November anchored at Tidore. They met with a hospitable and kind reception. The ships were visited by Almanzor, the sovereign of the island; a traffic in spices was commenced, and a factory established on shore, where trade soon became brisk, the native productions being readily given in exchange for red cloth, drinking-glasses, knives, and hatchets. This king was a Mohammedan, to which faith the Moors, at a period comparatively recent, had converted as many of the native princes of the East Indian Islands as they had stripped of their power.

The Moluccas, which had been discovered by the

* It may be proper to explain that the electric lights, which in stormy weather are frequently seen flickering on the tips of the masts, were believed to represent the body of Saint Elmo, and regarded as a sure sign that there was no danger in the tempest. When the lights were three in number, two of them were supposed to mark the presence of Nicholas and Clare. The appearance of these lambent flames was hailed with the chanting of litanies and orisons.

Portuguese in the year 1511, were found to be five in number, lying on the west coast of a large island called Gilolo. They were named Tidore, Ternate, Motir, Bachian, and Maquian. Their best spices were nutmegs, cloves, ginger, and cinnamon, which grew almost spontaneously. The houses were built on piles or posts, and fenced round with cane hedges. The King of Bachian sent as a gift to the emperor two dead birds of exquisite beauty, which the natives called "birds of God," saying they came from Paradise. These animals, as well as the clove-tree, of which Pigafetta gives a description, are now well known. By the middle of December the cargoes were completed; and the Spanish commander, ready to depart, was charged with letters and presents, consisting of the rarest productions of the island, sent to the emperor his master by the King of Tidore. When about to sail, the Trinidad was found unfit for sea; and the Victoria proceeded alone on the homeward voyage, with a crew of forty-seven Europeans, thirteen Indians, and also Molucca pilots. These native mariners entertained the Europeans with many a marvellous legend. While steering for Mindanao, before coming to the Moluccas, Pigafetta had heard of a tribe of hairy men, inhabiting a cape on the island Benaian, very fierce and warlike, and who were said to consume the hearts of their prisoners with lemon or orange juice; and he was now told of a people whose ears were so long, that the one served them for a mattress and the other for a coverlet.*

* The classical reader will be amused by the coincidence between the narratives of the Molucca pilots and the wonders related by Strabo, who recounts this among other legends brought from the East by the soldiers of Alexander the Great.

He was also informed of a tree, which gave shelter to birds of sufficient size and strength to pounce upon an elephant, and bear him up into the air.

The Vitoria touched at different places in the voyage to Spain, and, after a mutiny and the loss of twenty-one men, passed the Cape of Good Hope on the 6th May 1522. Being reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, the officers anchored in the harbour of Santiago, one of the Cape de Verd Islands belonging to the Portuguese, on what, according to their reckoning, was Wednesday the 9th July, but which, in fact, proved Thursday the 10th—a difference which was extremely perplexing at first, though a little reflection soon enabled Pigafetta to perceive the reason.* Some provisions were obtained before the quarter whence the ship had come was suspected; but the truth being at length discovered, in consequence of a sailor offering some spices in exchange for refreshments, the boat was seized, and the people on board, seeing preparations making for an attack, crowded sail and escaped.

On Saturday the 6th September 1522, after a

* To illustrate the fact mentioned in the text, let us suppose a ship sailing westward *keeps pace* with the sun, it is evident that the crew would have continual day, or it would be the *same* day to them during their circumnavigation of the earth; whereas the people, who remained at the place the vessel departed from, would have a night in the mean time, and consequently must reckon a day more than the voyagers. If the ship sailed eastward, an opposite effect would be produced; for, by constantly *meeting* the sun every morning at an earlier hour, a whole day is gained in the tour of the globe. Hence, if two ships should set out at the same time from any port, and sail round the world, the one eastward and the other westward, so as to meet again at the same port, they will be found to differ *two* days in reckoning their time at their return.—Keith on the Use of the Globes, p. 42. A beautiful illustration of the phenomenon will also be found in Sir J. F. W. Herschel's Treatise on Astronomy (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia), p. 137.

voyage of three years' duration, in which upwards of 14,600 leagues of sea had been traversed, Sebastian del Cano brought the Vitoria into San Lucar, and on the 8th proceeded up the river to Seville. Pigafetta, from whom every historian of this remarkable voyage borrows so largely, concludes his narrative in language almost poetical:—"This our wonderful ship, taking her departure from the Straits of Gibraltar, and sailing southwards through the great ocean towards the Antarctic Pole, and then turning west, followed that course so long that, passing round, she came into the east, and thence again into the west, not by sailing back, but proceeding constantly forward; so compassing about the globe of the world, until she marvellously regained her native country Spain." The crew on reaching Seville walked in their shirts, barefooted, and carrying tapers in their hands, to church, to offer thanks for their safe return; eighteen men, out of sixty who sailed from the Moluccas, being all that came home in the Vitoria. The vessel itself became the theme of poets and romancers; but though some have asserted that she was preserved till she fell to pieces, Oviedo, a contemporary writer, states that she was lost on her return from a voyage to St Domingo. The commander, Sebastian del Cano, escaped the neglect which was the common fate of Spanish discoverers. He was liberally rewarded, and obtained letters-patent of nobility, with a Globe for a crest, and the motto *Primus me circumdedisti* (You first encompassed me).

The Trinidad was less fortunate than her consort. After having refitted, she attempted to recross the Pacific, but was nearly wrecked; and being driven

back, the crew were made prisoners by the Portuguese, whose jealousy of Spanish enterprise in these parts was now violently inflamed by the late transactions at the Moluccas.

The voyage of Magellan was attended by the most important results; it effected the communication so long desired between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans, and removed the barriers which had hitherto obstructed European navigation in the latter sea. It opened a new path to the riches of India and the spices of the contiguous islands; and in fact achieved what Columbus and his companions had so long endeavoured to accomplish. It ascertained the southern boundary of the American continent, and the extent of the great sea which divides Asia from that portion of the globe. In its progress he discovered the Unfortunate Islands, the islands Saypan, Tinian, and Aguigan, four others of the group of the Ladrones, and the Philippines or Archipelago of St Lazarus. He also demonstrated the spherical form of the earth beyond the possibility of doubt; and accomplished what had baffled, even on the threshold, every previous navigator.

CHAPTER III.

Discoveries and Circumnavigations from Magellan to the End of the Sixteenth Century.

Expedition of Loyasa—Discovery of Papua or New Guinea—Voyage of Saavedra—Of Villalobos—Of Legaspi—Of Juan Fernandez—Expedition of Mendana, and Discovery of the Solomon Islands—John Oxenham, the first Englishman that sailed on the Pacific—Circumnavigation of Sir Francis Drake—Expedition of Sarmiento—Circumnavigation of Cavendish—His Second Voyage—The Falkland Islands discovered—Expedition of Sir Richard Hawkins—Second Voyage of Mendana—The Marquesas—Santa Cruz—Expedition of five Dutch Vessels—Circumnavigation of Van Noort—Retrospect.

All the seas and lands discovered by Magellan were declared by Spain to be her exclusive possession,—an assumption which the other European States, especially Portugal, were unwilling to acknowledge. The privilege of sailing by this track to the Moluccas, as well as those islands themselves, the principal advantages gained by the recent discoveries, were claimed on the double title of the papal grant and the alleged cession by the native princes. But John III. the Portuguese monarch, was equally tenacious of his rights. The old dispute as to the boundary and partition line was renewed, and referred to a convocation of learned cosmographers and skilful pilots, who met near Badajos, and parted as they met; the commissioners of both crowns being alike obstinate in their claims.

The respective governments were thus left to establish their rival pretensions as they should find most convenient; and Spain, accordingly, lost no time in fitting out an expedition to secure the full benefit of Magellan's labours.

This armament consisted of seven vessels, of which Garcia Jofre de Loyasa, a knight of St John, was appointed captain-general; Sebastian del Cano and other survivors of the former enterprise going out under his command. The squadron sailed from Corunna on the 24th July 1525. Every precaution having been taken to ensure the success of the voyage, the fleet at first proceeded prosperously. But accidents soon occurred, and to the still imperfect state of nautical science we must impute many of the subsequent disasters of Loyasa. The captain-general was separated from the other ships; the strait so lately discovered had already become uncertain; Sebastian del Cano's vessel was wrecked near Cape de las Virgines; the others were injured; one of them was forced to the southward,* and two, after suffering much damage, appear to have been conducted back to Spain. In short, it was April before they entered the sound; the passage proving tedious and dismal, and the crew having suffered much from the extreme cold. Few natives were seen, and those who

* The Spaniards claim an important discovery in consequence of this accidental circumstance. The San Lesmes, a bark commanded by Francisco de Hozes, is reported to have been driven to 55° south in the gale, and the captain affirmed that he had seen the end of Tierra del Fuego. This a Spanish writer supposes to have been Cape Horn; while Burney thinks it more probable that it was Staten Land, the certain discovery of which is, however, of much later date. The extent of projecting land between the eastern entrance to the strait and Cape Horn makes it unlikely that it could have been seen by the crew of the San Lesmes.—Chron. Hist. of Discov. in South Sea, vol. i. p. 134.

appeared showed signs of a hostile disposition, probably from recollecting how their confidence was abused by their former visiters. On the 26th May, the fleet reached the South Sea, but was almost immediately dispersed in a storm. Two of the vessels steered for New Spain, and in their course endured much from want of provisions; the sailors having little else to subsist on than the birds which they caught in the rigging. Of the two remaining ships, one ran aground at the island of Sanghir, after the crew had mutinied and thrown overboard the captain, his brother, and the pilot; while the other, which carried the admiral and his second in command, held north-west. Both these officers were now sick; and, four days after crossing the line, being the 30th of July 1526, Loyasa died, and Del Cano, who had weathered so many dangers, expired in less than a week. Alonzo de Salazar, who succeeded to the charge, steered for the Ladrones, and, in 14° north, discovered the island which he named San Bartolome, the native appellation of which has been lately ascertained to be Poulousouk.* Between Magellan's Strait and the latitude now specified, thirty-eight of the seamen perished, and the survivors were so enfeebled that they thought proper to entrap eleven Indians to work the pumps. Salazar, the third commander, died; and it was November before they came to anchor at Zamafo, a port in an island belonging to their ally the King of Tidore. On reaching the Moluccas, disputes immediately arose between the Spaniards and the Portuguese governor settled at Ternate; and a petty maritime

* Voyage autour du Monde, par M. L. de Freycinet. Historique, tome ii. pp. 69, 70.

warfare ensued, which was prosecuted several years with various degrees of activity and success,—the people of Tidore supporting their former friends, while those of Ternate espoused the cause of their rivals.

In the course of this year, 1526, Papua was discovered by Don Jorge de Meneses, in his passage from Malacca to the Spice Islands, of which he had been appointed governor by the court of Portugal. About the same period, Diego da Rocha made himself acquainted with the islands De Sequeira; believed to be a part of those which in modern times bear the name of Pelew, and belong to the extensive archipelago of the Carolines.* In the course of the following summer, the fourth captain-general of Loyasa's squadron died, as was alleged, by poison administered at the instigation of the Portuguese governor; and shortly afterwards, his ship, which had been much damaged by repeated actions, was declared unfit for the homeward voyage.

In the same season, the celebrated Hernan Cortes equipped three vessels for the Spice Isles, which sailed from New Spain on the eve of All Saints under the command of his kinsman Alvaro de Saavedra. Two of them were almost immediately separated from the admiral, who, pursuing his course alone, after leaving the Ladrones, discovered on Twelfth Day a cluster of islands, to which, from this circumstance, he gave the name of Los Reyes, or The Kings.† The men were naked, save a

* "Les iles qu'il [Diego da Rocha] nomma *Sequeira*, ne paroissent être autres, en effet, que les *Matelotas*, situées dans l'E. N. E. des Palaos."—Freycinet, *in op. cit.*, tome ii. p. 76.

† They are included in the Caroline range, and are supposed to be identical with the Egoi Islands of the present maps.—Freycinet, tome ii. p. 76.

piece of matting about their middle,—tall, robust, and swarthy, with long hair and rough beards. They had large canoes, and were armed with cane lances. When Saavedra, after a run of little more than two months, reached the Moluccas, he was immediately attacked by the Portuguese, but supported by his countrymen, the residue of Loyasa's fleet, who had now built a brigantine. Having completed his cargo, he sailed for New Spain on the 3d June 1528, —an eastward voyage that for a series of years baffled the most skilful navigators. Land was reached, which the Spaniards named Isla del Oro, in the belief that it abounded in gold. There is, however, reason to conclude that it was Papua, afterwards called New Guinea, from the resemblance between the natives and the negroes on the coast of Africa. They were black, with short crisped hair, and had the features of that distinctive race of Polynesia, since termed Oceanic negroes, who are found in many of those groups which are scattered throughout the vast Pacific, sometimes mixed with the other great family by which these islands are peopled, but generally apart. Saavedra, finding the wind unfavourable, was obliged to return to the Moluccas; nor was his second attempt to reach New Spain, in the following year, more fortunate. In this voyage he once more touched at Papua. When formerly there he had made three captives, two of whom, on again seeing the beloved shores of their native land, plunged into the sea while the ship was yet distant; but the third, who was more tractable, and had by this time been baptized, remained as envoy from his new friends to his ancient countrymen, and to establish an amicable traffic. When

the vessel neared the beach, he also left her, in order to swim ashore; but, without being allowed to land, he was assailed and murdered, as an outcast and renegade, in presence of his Christian patrons. A group of small islands (part of the Carolines) in 7° north, were, from the circumstance of the natives being tattooed or painted, named Los Pintados. To the north-east of this cluster, several low ones, well peopled, were discovered, and named Los Buenos Jardines.* At this place Saavedra dropped anchor, and the inhabitants drew near the shore, waving a flag. A number of men came on board accompanied by a female, who touched each of the Spaniards in succession, and was from that circumstance supposed to be a sorceress brought for the purpose of discovering what kind of beings they were. Both sexes were light-complexioned and tattooed. The women were beautiful, with agreeable features and long black hair, and wore dresses of fine matting. Saavedra, on landing, was met by a promiscuous band advancing in a certain order, with tambourines and festal songs. To gratify the curiosity of their chief, a musket was fired, which struck them with such terror that the greater part immediately fled in their canoes to a station three leagues distant, whence they were with difficulty induced to return. These islands afforded abundance of cocoanuts and other vegetable productions. The commander died soon after leaving the Good Gardens;†

* "Nous reconnoissons dans les premières [Los Pintados] une portion des îles Ralik, et dans les secondes [Los Buenos Jardines] l'extrémité nord des Radak, groupe exploré long-temps après [1816-17] par le capitaine russe Kotzebue."—Freycinet, tome ii. p. 76.

† To Saavedra is ascribed the bold idea of cutting a canal from sea to sea through the Isthmus of Darien. This project, which has been often revived, very early engaged the attention of

and, after vainly attempting to reach New Spain, the ship once more returned to the Moluccas. After sustaining many varieties of fortune, the Spaniards, finding that they could procure no reinforcements from their own country, consented to abandon the settlement, on condition of being furnished with means to convey them home. They accordingly departed for Cochin in 1534, but did not reach Europe till 1537, after an absence of twelve years. "Though the honour," says Burney, "of sending forth the second ship that encircled the globe cannot be claimed by the Spanish nation, it is nevertheless a justice due to the memory of the few of Loyasa's and Saavedra's men who reached their native country, to notice them as the navigators who the second time performed that tour."*

Several voyages had in the mean time been attempted by private adventurers; but they all proved abortive, and the passage by Magellan's Straits, as well as the schemes which began to be entertained for opening a communication through the Isthmus

Spain. It is discussed in Jos. Acosta's History of the Indies,—who urges against the design an opinion, that one sea being higher than the other, the undertaking must be attended by some awful calamity to the globe. Observations made under the patronage of Bolivar, and completed in 1829, seem to show that the levels of the two oceans are different; but as our ideas of a canal no longer imply a channel through which the waters of the one sea should flow into the other, the apprehensions that occurred to the Spanish historian have ceased to appal us. The chief obstacle is the enormous expense; for it seems now to be sufficiently proved that either a canal or a railway is quite practicable (See Royal Society Transactions for 1830;—indeed, it is reported that the construction of the latter has been determined on by the government of New Grenada. A cut was in fact made in 1788, connecting a tributary of the San Juan with a branch of the Quito, and thus opening a communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific, during the rainy season, for the canoes of the country, which draw from one to two feet of water.

* Chron. Hist. of Discov. in South Sea, vol. i. p. 161.

of Darien, were abandoned, when, in 1529, the Emperor Charles V. mortgaged or ceded to Portugal his right to all the islands west of the Ladrones, for 350,000 ducats (£108,181, 15s.) The discoveries now opening in other quarters likewise contributed to divert attention from this point. The peninsula of California was visited a few years afterwards. Its gulf and outer shores were examined by Cortes in 1536; new settlements were also every year rising in Mexico and Peru, which engrossed the cares of the Spanish governor; and it was not till the year 1542, that, forgetting the cession to Portugal, a squadron was once more fitted out, destined for the Archipelago of St Lazarus. This was the work of Mendoza, viceroy of Mexico, and the command was intrusted to his brother-in-law, Ruy Lopez de Villalobos. He discovered the island of San Tomas, in latitude 18° 30′ north, and a cluster, which he named El Coral. On the 6th January 1543, at 35 leagues from the Coral Isles, the fleet passed ten islands belonging to the group of the Carolines, and probably the same with Saavedra's Gardens.—The squadron coasted along Mindanao, and on reaching Sarrangan, an island near the south part of Mindanao, resolved to establish in it that settlement which was the chief purpose of their expedition. This the natives, though at first hospitable and friendly, stoutly opposed; but the captain-general, having already taken formal possession of all the islands for the emperor, determined to make good his point, and, accordingly, attacking their forces, compelled them to retreat. Here the Spaniards raised their first harvest of Indian corn in the Philippines,—the name now given by

Villalobos to the archipelago, in compliment to the Prince-royal of Spain. The inhabitants of several islands in a short time became more friendly; traffic was established; and this success once more excited the jealous apprehensions of the Portuguese, and induced them to foment intrigues among the native chiefs who favoured the different European leaders. In the progress of events, the conduct of Villalobos was marked by perfidy to the allies he had gained, and by treachery to his sovereign. In despite of the remonstrances of his officers, he accepted unworthy terms from the Portuguese, and provided himself a passage home in one of their ships. But his main object was defeated, for he died at Amboyna of sickness and chagrin,—thus eluding the vengeance of the country which he had betrayed.

The commencement of a new reign is a period proverbial for energy and activity. Among the first acts of Philip II. was an order issued to the Viceroy of Mexico for the final conquest of the Philippines. The Fray Andres de Urdaneta, a celebrated cosmographer and navigator, who, after sailing with Loyasa, had become a monk, was requested to accompany an expedition for this purpose; and to him the honour was given of nominating the captain-general, his own profession forbidding him to hold any secular rank. His choice fell upon Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a person of great prudence, who sailed with four ships from Navidad in New Spain on the 21st November 1564. On the 9th January following, they discovered a small island, which they named De los Barbudos, on account of the large beards of the natives, and next morning a circle of islets, which were called De los Plazeres, from

the shoals which ran between them. A similar group were perceived on the 12th, named Las Hermanas, or The Sisters; and are supposed to be the same with the Pescadores and Arrecifes of modern charts. The squadron touched at the Ladrones, and without seeing other land made the Philippines, where, according to the sealed orders received from the king, they were to form a settlement. On the 13th of February, they anchored near the east part of the island Tandaya. The natives wore the semblance of friendship; and an alliance was made with the chiefs, according to the customs of their country, the parties drawing blood from their arms and breasts, and mingling it with wine or water, in which they pledged mutual fidelity.* In this ceremony the captain-general declined to join, alleging that there was no person on the other side of sufficient rank to contract with him. The Indians, however, could not be so far ensnared as to become the dupes of European policy, remarking that the Spaniards gave "good words but bad works." The fleet sailed from place to place, but small progress was made in gaining the confidence of the people, who were now fully alive to the intentions of their visiters. One station after another was abandoned, and though a good understanding was established with the chief of Bohol, with whom Legaspi performed the ceremony of bleeding, Zebu was at last selected as the centre of colonization. There the Spaniards carried matters in a higher tone than they had hitherto assumed. The tardiness of the people

* The classical reader will not need to be reminded that Herodotus records similar customs as prevalent among the Scythians and other nations.

to acknowledge the offered civilities of the voyagers was used as a pretext for aggression, and the foundation of the first Spanish colony in the Philippines was laid in the ashes of the sacked capital. Hostilities continued to be waged for a time between the islanders and the invaders; but at last a peace was concluded. The news of the settlement was carried back to America by the Fray Andres Urdaneta, the pilot-monk, who sailed on the 1st June, and on the 3d of October reached Acapulco,—an exploit highly extolled at the time, as the passage across the Pacific from west to east, so necessary to facilitate the communication between the Philippines and the mother-country, had hitherto baffled every navigator. By following a course to the 43d degree of north latitude fair winds were obtained; and the homeward voyage long continued to be made to New Spain by the same track, which acquired the name of Urdaneta's Passage. The occupation of Manilla soon followed that of Zebu, and became the insular capital of the Spaniards in the eastern world.

Geographical discovery and maritime enterprise were now to receive a new spirit from that extraordinary career of conquest which, commenced by Hernan Cortes almost contemporaneously with the voyage of Magellan, had already extended over the greater part of the western coast of South America. In the year 1563, Juan Fernandez, a Spanish pilot, in the passage from Peru to the new establishments in Chili, had stood out to sea in the hopes of finding favourable winds, and in his progress descried two islands; one of which was called Mas-afuera, while the other received the name of its discoverer, and

has since acquired much celebrity as the supposed scene of Defoe's romance of Robinson Crusoe.

In the year 1567, Lopez Garcia de Castro, the viceroy of Peru, fitted out the first expedition which sailed from that country expressly for the purpose of discovery. He intrusted the command to Alvaro de Mendana de Neyra, who departed from Callao, the port of Lima, on the 10th of January. Having directed his progress westward a distance which is variously stated by different writers, he reached a small island inhabited by copper-coloured savages, and named it the Isla de Jesus. Shortly after, he discovered a large shoal, which he called Baxos de la Candelaria (Candlemas Shoals), and from this descried an extensive land, for which he set sail, and anchored in a harbour, that received the appellation of Santa Ysabel de la Estrella (St Isabel of the Star). The inhabitants were of a bronze complexion, had woolly hair, and wore no covering save round their waists. They were divided into tribes, and engaged in continual warfare with one another. They seemed to be cannibals, but their usual food consisted of cocoa-nuts, and a species of root which they called *venaus*. Having first, with the characteristic devotion of the age, caused mass to be celebrated on these new-found shores, Mendana constructed a brig large enough to carry thirty men, which was despatched to explore the neighbouring coasts. The result was the discovery of an archipelago consisting of eighteen islands, some of which were found to be 300 leagues in circumference, though of several others no definite knowledge was obtained. The names of Santa Ysabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita, San Christoval, and El Nombre de Dios,

were bestowed on the principal ones; while the group received the general appellation of the Solomon Islands, from a belief that they had supplied the gold and treasure employed in the building of the Temple.* The air was extremely salubrious; the fertile soil offered ample resources for a dense population, and the rivers washed down great quantities of the precious metals. This archipelago, however, was not explored without several rencounters taking place between the Spaniards and the savages, who fought with much valour. After this rapid survey, Mendana returned to Peru in the beginning of March 1568. Many years passed ere any farther knowledge of his discoveries was sought; and their situation long furnished a perplexing theme for the discussion of geographers.

In the year 1574, Juan Fernandez visited two small islands lying near the continent of America, which were named San Felix and San Amber. About the same period, a discovery is ascribed to him of a more doubtful character. Sailing from the coast of Chili, about the latitude of 40° south,† he is reported

* The minds of the early discoverers seem to have been constantly inflamed by the description of the wealth of Solomon, who "made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones," and whose "drinking vessels were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the forest of Lebanon were of pure gold; none were of silver: it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon."—1 Kings, x. 21, 27. The land of Ophir, from which the navy of Hiram brought gold and "great plenty of almug-trees, and precious stones," was the object of continual search; and Columbus, among his other dreams, believed that he found this source of Jewish splendour in Hispaniola and Veragua.—Irving's Columbus, vol. iii. p. 251, and vol. iv. p. 59. The true position of Ophir is yet a *questio vexata* among geographers. It has been placed in India, in Arabia, in Africa, and even in Peru. Etymology, the never-failing support of such speculations, comes in aid of this last hypothesis with the expression "gold of Parvaim."

† It is to be regretted that the learned Burney should have lessened the value of his important work by the loose and unscholarlike

to have reached, after a voyage of a month, the coast of a continent which seemed to be very fertile and well cultivated. The people were white, wore fine attire, and were of an amiable and peaceful disposition. Several large rivers fell into the sea, and altogether it "appeared much better and richer than Peru." This country has been supposed by some to be New Zealand; others are inclined wholly to discredit the voyage; and the data are certainly too meagre to warrant the identification of this supposed continent with any of the islands in the Pacific known to geography.

The year 1575 witnessed the first launching of a bark by an English seaman in the waves of the South Sea,—a feat which was accomplished by John Oxenham, a native of Plymouth. Landing on the north side of Darien, he marched across the neck of land; and having built a small vessel, he intrusted himself to the ocean, and steered for the Pearl Islands. There he captured two rich prizes, and returned with his spoil to recross the isthmus,—an attempt in which he was slain.

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fashion of departing from the words of his author, even while pretending to quote literally. This practice has led him into numerous mistakes. Thus, in relating the discovery of Fernandez, he takes occasion to quote the Memorial of Doctor Juan Luis Arias, published by Dalrymple (Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 53), as to the following effect:—"Arias says, 'The pilot, Juan Fernandez, *sailed from the coast of Chili, a little more or less than forty degrees*, in a small ship, with certain of his companions,' &c."—Chron. Hist. of Discovery, vol. i. p. 300. But the passage, as it stands in Dalrymple, is materially different: "A pilot, named Juan Fernandez, who discovered the track from Lima to Chili, by going to the westward (which till then had been made with much difficulty, as they kept along shore, where the southerly winds almost constantly prevail), *sailing from the coast of Chili, about the latitude of forty degrees, little more or less*, in a small ship, with some of his companions," &c.—Vol. i. p. 53. It will be seen that Burney thus quotes Arias as specifying the *longitude*, while in truth he only indicates the *latitude*.

Unfortunate as was the issue of this enterprise, it did not chill the ardour nor damp the courage of our countrymen. Within two years was commenced the first voyage round the globe performed by the British, in the person of the renowned Sir Francis Drake. When, from a "goodly and great high tree" on the Isthmus of Darien, this bold navigator first saw the South Sea, we are told that "he besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea." Several years elapsed before this wish was gratified; but at length, on the 13th December 1577, he was enabled to set sail from Plymouth with a fleet of five vessels, bearing 164 men. He made the eastern inlet to the Straits of Magellan on the 20th of August, and in seventeen days after entered the Pacific. Here he encountered a succession of storms, during one of which he was driven far to the southward, when, it is probable, he discovered Cape Horn. "He fell in," says an old narrator, "with the uttermost part of land towards the South Pole; which uttermost cape or headland of all these islands, stands near in the 56th degree, without which there is no main nor island to be seen to the southwards, but the Atlantic Ocean and the South Sea meet in a large and free scope." When the weather became fair Drake stood to the northward, and cruised along the coasts of Chili, Peru, and Mexico, capturing the vessels of the Spaniards and plundering their towns. In the hope of finding a north-east passage or strait, he still continued his course, and explored a country, which he named New Albion, to the 48th degree of north latitude. It was then determined to run westward, and return to Europe by the Cape of Good

Hope. After sailing sixty-eight days, he discovered some islands, to which he gave the name of the Thieves, and which have been conjectured to be identical with some of those called the Pelew in the Caroline archipelago.* From these he proceeded to the Philippines; and after touching at Java and other places, set sail for England. On the 15th June 1580, he passed the southern point of Africa, which, says an old author, "is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth;"† and on the 26th of September anchored safely at Plymouth, after an absence of two years and nearly ten months. In geographical discovery Drake's voyage was barren, but it gave a new spirit to the maritime enterprise of Britain, and brought wealth and fame to its commander. Queen Elizabeth honoured him by dining on board his ship, where she also conferred the distinction of knighthood; for many years his vessel was preserved at Deptford; and a chair, made from one of her planks and presented to the University of Oxford, has been celebrated by the muse of Cowley.‡

The unexpected appearance of Drake in the South Sea was a matter of serious alarm to the Spaniards. Their exclusive navigation of that ocean was now gone; and instead of gathering in peace the treasures which the islands in its bosom, and the

* "Drake découvrit des îles, qu'il nomma *Islands* of *Thieves*, et qui paroissent être les îles situées au sud de Yap. Elles portent sur la carte No. 7 de notre Atlas hydrographique, le nom d'îles *Lamoleao Ourou*. L'île Yap est nommée aussi *Eap* par quelques auteurs."—Freycinet, tome ii. p. 77.

† Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 742.

‡ A copious narrative of the Life and Voyages of Drake has already appeared in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. V. Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier.

opulent empires on its margin, might afford, they perceived that henceforth they would have to contend for their riches with a powerful and ambitious enemy. In fact, they soon saw the English successfully penetrating the Magellanic Straits,—a channel so difficult as to have given rise to a saying, "that the passage had closed up." It had, indeed, been little frequented by the Spaniards, who, it may be conjectured, found a more profitable employment in the colonization of their recent conquests. But the havock which Drake carried along their coasts once more attracted their attention to the Straits, and, in 1579, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was despatched from Lima to survey them, and report the result of his observations. In pursuance of his advice, it was determined to fit out a powerful armament, with a design of fortifying the narrows, and thus closing against hostile intrusion what they considered the only portal of the Pacific. The fate of this expedition was singularly disastrous; nor was it until after making repeated attempts and sustaining much loss that they effected an entrance. Two cities were founded, named Nombre de Jesus and San Felipe, and peopled by Europeans, who had a supply of provisions for only eight months. On his voyage to Spain, the captain was taken prisoner by an English cruiser belonging to Sir Walter Raleigh. His unfortunate colony was speedily reduced to the greatest miseries; no attempt was made to send them succours from home; and, being thus abandoned to want and the frightful inclemencies of the weather, sad ravages were made among them. Only two who survived these dreadful sufferings returned to their native country.

The path to the South Sea once laid open, no long

time elapsed ere it again became the scene of English adventure. In 1586, Mr Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of the county of Suffolk, fitted out, at his own expense, an expedition to the Pacific, and sailed from Plymouth on the 21st July. He reached the Straits of Magellan on the 6th January following, and cleared their farther outlet on the 24th of February. Like Drake, the object he had in view was plunder; and, like that navigator, too, he stood along the western coast of America, carrying fire and sword wherever he went. At length, in November, glutted with spoil, he steered across the ocean, and in January 1588 made the Ladrone Islands. In the passage homeward he touched at St Helena, and first communicated to England its capabilities and advantages. He arrived at Plymouth on the 9th September, having circumnavigated the globe in two years and fifty days,—a period shorter than that required by either of his predecessors.

The chief contribution which this voyage made to geography was the discovery of Port Desire on the east coast of Patagonia. In a lucrative point of view it was so successful, that Cavendish resolved to engage in another expedition to the same quarter of the globe. Accordingly, he again left England, and, after a voyage of seven months, he entered the Strait of Magellan, on the 14th of April 1592. Dispirited by the storms which he encountered there, he determined, on the 15th of May, to retrace his course towards the coast of Brazil, and soon afterwards died on his passage home.

The voyage, though its results were not very gratifying, was marked by an incident of some importance. After repassing the Straits, one of the

vessels, under the command of Captain Davis, was separated from the squadron, and having met with adverse gales, was "driven in among certaine Isles never before discovered by any knowen relation, lying fiftie leagues or better from the shoare, east and northerly from the Streights, in which place, unlesse it had pleased God of his wonderfull mercie to have ceased the winde, wee must of necessitie have perished."* On this group he seems to have bestowed no name; but they are now known by the designation of the Falkland Islands.† After this occurrence Davis succeeded in reaching the South Sea; but, returning almost immediately, his ship eventually arrived at Bearhaven in Ireland, in June 1593, with only sixteen persons remaining of seventy-six who left England. Of the expeditions now briefly noticed, which constitute so important an era in the naval history of this country, and abound with spirit-stirring adventures, a copious narrative has been given in a preceding volume of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library.‡

We have shortly to mention yet another expedition fitted out in the reign of Elizabeth. This was undertaken by Sir Richard Hawkins, who sailed from Plymouth on the 12th of June 1593. In his passage towards the Strait, he observed the

* Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 846.

† Burney seems to have been among the first to vindicate Davis' claim to the discovery of this group, which it was supposed was formerly seen by Sir Richard Hawkins.—Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 103.

‡ Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier. For a farther account of Davis, one of England's most intrepid seamen, who, having effected discoveries in the extreme regions of the north and the south which have immortalized his name, was doomed to perish in a quarrel in the East Indies, the reader is referred to the Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions.

islands formerly seen by Davis, though he appears to have considered them as altogether unknown. "The land," he says, "for that it was discovered in the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, my souereigne lady and mistris, and a mayden queene, and at my cost and aduenture, in a perpetuall memory of her chastitie, and remembrance of my endevours, I gave it the name of Hawkins' Maiden-land."* Sir Richard reached the South Sea, and began to follow the example of his more illustrious predecessors, Drake and Cavendish; but his fortune proved very different. On the 22d of June 1594, his ship was captured near Cape de San Francisco, and carried into Panama, in honour of which event that city was illuminated.

This was the last voyage in the Pacific made by English navigators for many years. The course of our narrative accordingly turns again to the expeditions of the Spaniards.

In 1594, Philip II., in a letter to the Viceroy of Peru, recommended "the encouragement of enterprises for new discoveries and settlements, as the best means to disembarrass the land from many idle gentry;" and, in compliance with this suggestion, an armament was prepared next year to effect a settlement in the island of San Christoval, one of the Solomon archipelago, visited, as has been already narrated, in 1567. The fleet consisted of four vessels supplied with 378 men, of whom 280 were soldiers; it was commanded by Alvaro de Mendana, by whom the islands had been discovered, under the title of Adelantado, and the chief

* Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1384.

pilot was Pedro Fernandez de Quiros,—a name which afterwards became famous in the annals of nautical adventure. The adelantado was accompanied by his wife, the Donna Ysabel Berreto, and, as was usual in those days, a certain number of priests sailed on board the armada.

On the 16th of June 1595, Mendana, leaving Payta, pursued a course nearly due west until the 21st July, when he was in latitude 10° 50′ S., and, by the reckoning of Quiros, 1000 leagues distant from Lima. On that day an island was discovered and named La Madalena; and the adelantado, believing it to be the land he sought, there was much rejoicing among the crew, and *Te Deum laudamus* was sung with great devotion. Next day, when they drew near the shore, there sallied forth in rude procession about seventy canoes, and at the same time many of the inhabitants made towards the ships by swimming. They were in complexion nearly white, of good stature, and finely formed; and on their faces and bodies were delineated representations of fishes and other devices. The Spanish chroniclers extol the gentle manners and the beauty of these natives very highly. "There came," says Figueroa,* "among others, two lads paddling their canoe, whose eyes were fixed on the ship; they had beautiful faces,

* "Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza Quarto Marques de Canete, por El Doctor Christoval Suarez de Figueroa. Madrid, 1613." An almost literal translation of so much of this work as relates to Mendana's voyage will be found in Dalrymple's Hist. Coll. vol. i. pp. 57-94, and 185-203. This translation has been used in the present account. There has been preserved another narrative of the voyage in a letter written by Pedro Fernandez Quiros, the pilot-mayor, to Don Antonio Merga, and published by him in "Sucesos de las Philipinas. Mexico, 1609." This is also to be found in Dalrymple's excellent work.

and the most promising animation of countenance; and were in all things so becoming, that the pilot-mayor (Quiros) affirmed nothing in his life ever caused him so much regret as the leaving such fine creatures to be lost in that country." Short as was the intercourse which the Spaniards had with these gentle savages, it was marked by bloodshed and violence. When Mendana had passed the south end of La Madalena, he descried three other islands, and this circumstance for the first time convinced him that he was not among the Solomon group. He named these newly-discovered ones La Dominica, Santa Christina, and San Pedro, and gave to the whole cluster the title of Las Marquesas de Mendoza. A spacious harbour was soon observed in Santa Christina, and named Port Madre de Dios; and the fleet having been safely anchored, the adelantado and the Lady Ysabel landed. On this occasion mass was performed with much ceremony, the natives standing silently by, kneeling when the strangers knelt, and endeavouring generally to imitate their gestures. Prayers were then said, and in the name of the King of Spain possession was taken of the islands,—a formality which was completed by the sowing of some maize. A large party of soldiers being left on shore, soon fell into hostilities with the natives, drove them from their houses, and hunted them with slaughter into the woods.

At length, on the 5th of August, the adelantado set sail from Las Marquesas—assuring the crews, that on the third or fourth day they would reach the Solomons. More than a fortnight passed, however, and no land was seen, till on the 20th they discovered four small and low islands with sandy

beaches, and covered with palms and other trees. These were named San Bernardo, and a similar one, descried nine days after, was, from its lonely situation, called La Solitaria. It has been conjectured to be identical with one of the Desventuradas of Magellan.* The ships passed on, pursuing the same course, but discontent and disappointment soon broke out on board. Of the land, long since predicted by the adelantado as near at hand, no signs had yet appeared; and some of the crew scrupled not to say that they were going no one knew whither. Amid these murmurs of dissatisfaction, Mendana, we are told, went about with a rosary ever in his hand, wearing an air of devotion and severely reprehending all profaneness of speech.

On the night of the 7th of September, land was at length perceived; and on that same night one of the vessels disappeared and was no more seen. At sunrise the land was ascertained to be an island of large extent; and was forthwith named Santa Cruz. Another was seen to the northward, on which there was a volcano in great activity. When first observed, it had a regularly-formed peak; but this was destroyed a few days after by an eruption of such violence as to be felt on board the ships, though at the distance of ten leagues. The natives were immediately recognised by Mendana as of a kindred race with the inhabitants of the Solomons, yet they appeared to speak a different language. Their hair was woolly, and frequently stained white, red, and other colours; they had ornaments of bone or teeth round their necks, and used bows and arrows. Their warlike disposition was evinced by their commenc-

* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 175.

ing an attack on the Spaniards. This was, indeed, quickly repelled; but the ferocity of the savages and the cruelty of the voyagers kept up a continued warfare during their stay. The adelantado at length determined to form a settlement on the margin of a bay, which from its goodly aspect was named La Graciosa. The ground was soon cleared and several houses built. Sedition and mutiny, however, now made their appearance, and it was found necessary to punish three of the conspirators with death. The inhumanity of his people towards the natives reached at the same time a height altogether unprecedented. A chief, Malipe, whom Quiros calls "our greatest friend and lord of the island," was murdered by some of the crew, apparently without the slightest cause or pretext; though, to the honour of Mendana, it should be mentioned that he inflicted death on the perpetrators of this cruel outrage. But this was among the last of his acts, disease and care having already reduced him to the utmost extremity. On the 17th of October, which was marked by a total eclipse of the moon, he made his will, leaving his authority to his wife, Donna Ysabel, and constituting her brother, Don Lorenzo Berreto, captain-general under her. He was so weak that he could scarcely subscribe his name to this document, and he only survived till midnight. His character may be given in the words of Figueroa: "He was known to be very eager to accomplish whatever he put hand to; he was zealous for the honour of God and the service of the king; of high mind, which had engaged him in the former voyages and discoveries; good actions gave him pleasure, and he detested bad; he was very courteous and sweet-tempered; not too apt to give reasons, and

therefore not desirous of them; more solicitous of works than words. He appeared to be well in regard to his own conscience. He never passed for high, so that it was the opinion that he knew more than he performed."* The melancholy rites of burial were celebrated with suitable pomp. The coffin was borne on the shoulders of eight officers, and the soldiers marched with muskets reversed, and dragging their colours in the dust.

Shortly after, the new captain-general was wounded in a skirmish with the natives, and died on the 2d November. The vicar soon followed him,—"a loss," says Figueroa, "such as the sins of these unfortunate pilgrims deserved; it served as a stroke to tell them they were displeasing to God, when, after so many corporeal afflictions, he took from them their spiritual comfort." Continued misfortunes had now reduced the settlement to a state so helpless that twenty determined savages could have destroyed it without danger; and the Donna Ysabel, bereft of her husband and brother, and discouraged by so many evils, resolved to abandon the projected colony. Having accordingly embarked all the settlers, and taken on board the corpse of the

* Burney seems to have been disposed to look only on the dark side of Mendana's character: "His merits," it is observed, "as a navigator, or as a commander, have not contributed towards rendering him conspicuous; *and it is remarked in Figueroa that his death was lamented* ONLY *by his relations and his favourites.*" —Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 162. This certainly is not a fair representation of Figueroa's statement, which runs thus:—"The governess and her friends were much affected by his death, others were glad of it. *It is to be supposed these were the worst people in the company, to whom his goodness gave offence;* for it is impossible for one who lives in dread to love that which occasions his fear; and particularly when the wicked have the good to judge of their evil works."—Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 190.

adelantado, the three vessels which now composed the fleet set sail on the 18th of November, after a stay at Santa Cruz of two months and eight days.

It was intended to seek the island of San Christoval; "but," says Quiros, "when we continued on the course two days and saw nothing, on the petition of all the people, who spoke aloud, the governess commanded me to take the route for the city of Manilla." In their voyage thither, an island was discovered about thirty leagues in circuit, and clothed with trees and herbage. No name seems at that time to have been assigned to it, and though its position is very imperfectly indicated, it may be conjectured to be one of the Carolines.* Two of the vessels reached the Philippines after much privation; the third was found stranded on the coast with all her sails set, but her people were dead.†

Shortly after this disastrous expedition, the Spaniards were alarmed by the appearance of a new foe in the ocean which they had ever regarded as their own. This unexpected enemy was the Dutch, who, fired alike by hatred of the nation which had so long oppressed them, and stimulated by hopes of gain, determined to carry the hostilities, hitherto confined to the plains of the Low Countries, far beyond the bounds of Europe, and to attack the possessions of their former tyrants in India and the South Seas.

In June 1598, five vessels left Holland for the

* It is thus noticed by M. de Freycinet, apparently on the authority of Texeira:—"En 1595, Quiros, successeur de Mendana, fit la découverte de l'île *Hogoleu*, qui d'abord reçut des Espagnols le nom de *Quirosa*, puis celui de Torrès, d'un capitaine de cette nation."—Voyage autour du Monde. Historique, tome ii. p. 77.

† Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 58, note.

purpose of sailing to the East Indies by the Straits of Magellan, and cruising against the Spaniards on the coasts of Chili and Peru. On the 6th of the following April, they entered the Straits; but in consequence of some unforeseen difficulties, they were obliged to winter in Green Bay, where they suffered much from cold and want, many of the men dying of hunger. They had also repeated conflicts with the natives, who are described as being of formidable stature, with red bodies and long hair, and animated with such implacable hatred against the Dutch, that they tore from their graves the bodies of some sailors, which they mangled or altogether removed. On the 3d of September, the squadron reached the South Sea, but was soon dispersed in a storm, and never again met. Sibald de Weert repassed the Straits, and after seeing some of the islands discovered by Davis, and which now received the name of Sibald de Weert, brought home to the Maes, in July 1600, the only ship that returned to Holland. Dirck Gherritz, in the yacht commanded by him, was driven to 64° south latitude, where he got sight of land, supposed to be the South Shetland Isles.* An Englishman, named William Adams, acted as chief pilot in the squadron, and the vessel in which he sailed stood over to the coast of Japan, where they were detained, but kindly treated. Adams built two ships for the emperor, and became so great a favourite, that he granted him a living "like unto a lordship in England with eightie or ninetie husbandmen" for servants; but he failed to obtain permission to return home, though he greatly desired

* This fact seems to have been little regarded, and does not affect the merit of Captain Smith's discovery in 1818.

to "see his poore wife and children, according to conscience and nature."* Finding that he could not prevail for himself, he interceded for his companions, who, being allowed to depart, joined a Dutch fleet under General Matelief. Their captain was killed in an engagement with the Portuguese off Malacca, after which all trace of them is lost. News of the death of Adams, at Firando in Japan, was brought to this country in 1621.

Almost contemporaneously with this expedition, some Dutch merchants fitted out four ships under Olivier Van Noort, who sailed from Goree on the 13th September 1598, with objects similar to those contemplated by De Weert. A voyage of a year and seven days brought them to Port Desire, where they careened their three vessels, having previously burned one as unserviceable; and, according to Purchas, they took in this place penguins, to the number of "50,000, being as bigge as geese, with egges innumerable, which proved very refreshing to the diseased."† Some natives being observed on the north shore, the general landed with twenty men, and as the savages had disappeared they proceeded into the country. Five sailors left in charge of the boats straggled to some distance; upon which about thirty Patagonians, tall, fierce, tawny, and "painted to the degree of terror," attacked them, murdered three, and wounded another with an arrow. By the time the general and his party returned, the assailants had all fled, and none were again seen near the

* "William Adams,—his Voyage by the Magellan Straits to Japan, written in two letters by himselfe."—Purchas, vol. i. p. 128.

† Purchas, vol. i. p. 72.

place. After entering the Straits, the ships were approached from the south coast by a single man, who was pursued and ineffectually fired at. A more convenient opportunity, as the Dutchmen conceived, for revenging the death of their three comrades occurred at the smaller of the Penguin Islands. As the boats neared the land, about forty natives, thinking they came in search of the birds which abound there, threw some from the top of a cliff, made signs for them not to land, and discharged arrows when these intimations were disregarded. The Hollanders were not slow to retaliate with musketry; which soon drove the savages from the rock. They again rallied, however, on the side of a hill at the mouth of a cavern, and fought with the utmost determination until the destructive fire of the Dutch left not one man alive. In the interior of the grotto were found huddled together the women and children; mothers had placed their own bodies as a protection before their offspring, and many of both were wounded. The invaders committed no farther outrage, except carrying off four boys and two girls. One of the former having been taught to speak Dutch, afterwards informed his captors that they had exterminated the males of a whole tribe,—a deed, which, as it is related without any expressions of regret or pity, was probably never regarded by the perpetrators as being in the least more atrocious than if they had cut down so many trees for the use of their squadron. Sibald de Weert's ship was seen in the Straits, and that commander made a request to be supplied with some biscuit; but his countryman coolly answered, that he had no more than was sufficient for his own

use, and if he should exhaust his stores, this was not a part of the world where bread could be purchased.

Along the west coast of South America some prizes of little consequence were made, and when near the equator they stood across towards the Philippines. At Guahan, in the Ladrones, about 200 canoes came off to barter, the people in them shouting, "Hierro, hierro!" (iron, iron!) and in their eagerness oversetting each other's boats,—a catastrophe which occasioned much confusion, but no loss of life, as they were all expert swimmers. The Dutch did not find them honourable in their transactions, as they covered baskets of shells with a thin layer of rice at top, and, if they had an opportunity, pulled a sword from the scabbard, and leaping into the sea, eluded, by diving, the bullets of the enraged owners. The women were no less expert in such exercises than the men, as was ascertained by dropping bits of iron, which they fetched up from the bottom. Thence Van Noort proceeded in a leisurely manner, capturing trading vessels, burning villages, and carrying off provisions as occasion served. His force was now reduced to two ships, the Mauritius and Eendracht. He learnt from some Chinese that the capital of the Spanish settlements was well fortified, and the harbour sufficiently protected. He therefore anchored off the entrance of the bay, to intercept the craft bound thither. After some time, the colonists sailed out to attack them; when their admiral, De Morga, confident in a large superiority of numbers, ran directly aboard of the Mauritius, and, getting possession of the deck, pulled down the flag. The Holland-

ers, however, continued to fight, though in a skulking manner, when Van Noort, tired of this tedious and ineffectual warfare, told his men, that if they did not come out and encounter the enemy more vigorously, he would set fire to the magazine and blow up the ship. They did so accordingly, and drove the Spaniards back into their own vessel, which, having been damaged in boarding, soon after went down. Most of the seamen were saved by the country-boats; but numbers also were shot, knocked on the head, or killed with pikes by the Dutch, who refused quarter. The Eendracht, seeing the colours of the Mauritius lowered, and thinking the captain-general had surrendered, took to flight, but was pursued and captured; upon which, the prisoners being conveyed to Manilla, were immediately executed as pirates. Without any farther adventure of consequence, and having added nothing to the knowledge of the South Sea, Van Noort brought his ship to anchor before the city of Amsterdam on the 26th of August 1601.

This was the first circumnavigation performed by the Dutch, and was remarkable for the rigour with which discipline was enforced. In many of the Spanish expeditions mutinies broke out which could not be subdued without the sacrifice of several lives; but here, although a spirit of insubordination was repeatedly displayed, it seems to have been uniformly checked before spreading to any considerable extent. Individuals who had been found guilty were put ashore at various points; and, among others, the second in command was left in Patagonia with a little bread and wine. Every thing of this nature was done with the sanction of a

council of war,* whose sentences were occasionally marked by no little severity: in one case they caused a seaman's hand to be pinned to the mast with a knife, where he was condemned to remain till he could release himself by slitting it open. This cruel punishment was formerly usual in cases where an assault had been committed upon the pilot or commander.

The voyage of Van Noort closes the long list of enterprises made in the sixteenth century; and, before passing on to the events of the seventeenth, it may not be improper briefly to glance at the progress of discovery among the islands and along the coasts of the South Sea since the time when Vasco Nunez, from the mountain-peak of Darien, beheld "below him extended a vast chaos of rock and forest, and green savannas and wandering streams, while at a distance the waters of the promised ocean glittered in the morning sun."†

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* Burney (Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 209) says, it does not appear who composed this tribunal; but the original account of the voyage mentions that the "council of war" gave a judgment which it also attributes to the "general and his officers." This makes it sufficiently plain of whom the council in a Dutch fleet consisted; and farther, one of the letters of William Adams states, that all the pilots in the squadron expressed in the council an opinion which so displeased the captains that they excluded them for the future from their deliberations.—Purchas, vol. i. p. 129.

† Voyages of the Companions of Columbus, p. 173. Washington Irving has described this event, "one of the most beautiful and striking incidents in the history of the New World," with even more than his usual elegance. It is in itself so picturesque as to be barely susceptible of farther embellishment from poetry, though Mr Irving considers that the fate of Nunez "might furnish a theme of wonderful interest for a poem or a drama." His great discovery has been happily alluded to in a beautiful sonnet by a young poet, who, however, has confounded him with the conqueror of Mexico:—

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken,

84422

The continent of America, constituting the western boundary of this vast ocean, had already been explored from the white cliffs of New Albion, in 48° north latitude, to Cape Pilares on Tierra del Fuego, in 54° south. Some imperfect knowledge had been obtained of lands even still farther south: Drake had seen the promontory which afterwards received the dreaded name of Cape Horn, and the Dutch had descried the bleak islands now called New South Shetland. Magellan had laid open the strait which bears his name, and was then looked on as the only entrance from the Atlantic into the South Sea. Along the coast had been discovered several islands, the principal of which were Chiloe, Mocha, Mas-afuera, Juan Fernandez, San Felix, San Amber or Ambrosio, Lobos, Los Galapagos, Cocos, San Tomas, and the Pearl Islands. The eastern boundary of the South Sea was less accurately known. Yet on that side the Japan Islands, Formosa, the Philippines or Archipelago of St Lazarus, Borneo, the Moluccas, Papua or New Guinea, had all been more or less minutely examined, and might be held to define with sufficient accuracy the eastern limits of the Pacific, from the latitude of 40° north to that of 10° on the opposite side of the equator. Southward of this all was unknown and unexplored; and the geographers of the period, bold in their ignorance, delineated the capes, the gulfs, the promontories, bays, islands, and coast of a great continent extending from the vicinity of New Guinea to the neighbourhood of Tierra del Fuego, under the

Or like stout *Cortez*, when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific, and all his men
Looked at each other with a wild surmise,
Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

name of TERRA AUSTRALIS NONDUM COGNITA. Of the innumerable clusters of islands with which the South Sea is studded, very few had been at this time discovered. Las Desventuradas, the Ladrones or Marians, the Sequeira or Pelew, and several others of the Carolines; the islands of San Bernardo, Las Marquesas, Solitaria, the Solomons, Santa Cruz, and a few smaller groups, were all that were known of those countries and islands, the extent and number of which have at length claimed for them the rank of a fifth division of the globe.

During this period the earth had been sailed round four times. Of these circumnavigations, the first was effected by Spaniards under a Portuguese commander; the second and the third by the English; and the fourth by the Dutch.

CHAPTER IV.

Circumnavigations and Discoveries of the Seventeenth Century.

Voyage of Quiros—La Sagitaria—Australia del Espiritu Santo—Luis Vaez de Torres discovers the Strait between New Holland and New Guinea—Circumnavigation of Spilbergen—Of Schouten and Le Maire—Discovery of Staten Land and Cape Horn—Cocos, Good Hope, and Horn Islands—New Ireland—Expedition of the Nodals—Discovery of New Holland by Dirck Hatichs—Circumnavigation of the Nassau Fleet—Voyage of Tasman—Discovery of Van Diemen's Land, of New Zealand, and the Friendly Islands—Voyages of Hendrick Brower and La Roche—Expeditions of the Buccaneers—Discovery of Davis' or Easter Island—Voyage of Strong, and Discovery of Falkland Sound—Retrospect.

THERE had long been an abatement in the ardour of that passion for adventure which formerly inflamed the hearts of the Spanish nation, afforded to her chivalrous youth so many harvests of gain, and extended her sceptre over regions of great extent, wealth, and beauty. Avarice had become sated with the gold already obtained, or, chilled by the frequent disappointment of its eager hopes, had become suspicious and distrustful of future promises. Enthusiasm had been quenched by the misfortunes of those whose beginning had been the most prosperous and seemed most certain of success. Religious zeal had found, in the lands already explored, ampler bounds than it could occupy. National policy required rather the permanent security and improvement of conquered countries, than a search after new regions. There

had even arisen a superstitious feeling against the discovery of the South Sea, as if it had been an impious intrusion into the secrets of nature. The untimely fate of all who had been principally concerned in this great event was now recollected. It was told, that Vasco Nunez had been beheaded,—that Magellan had fallen by the hands of the infidels,—that his companion, the astrologer Ruy Falero, had died raving mad,—and that the seaman De Lepe, who had first descried the Strait from the topmast, had abandoned Christ to follow Mohammed. But the spirit which had glowed so long was not wholly dead, and we have yet to record the actions of one of the most distinguished navigators whom Spain has produced.

Undaunted by the hardships and ill success of the last voyage of Alvaro de Mendana, the pilot, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, returned to Peru, eager to engage in fresh adventures, and, as one of his memorials expresses it, "to plough up the waters of the unknown sea, and to seek out the undiscovered lands around the antarctick pole—the centre of that horizon."* Arguing upon grounds which were received by many, even down to our own day, he asserted the existence of a vast southern continent, or at least of a mass of islands, the an-

* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 98. The chief authorities for the voyage of Quiros are his own memorials (which are inserted in Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 145-174; and in Purchas, vol. iv. p. 1427), together with the relations of Figueroa and Torquemada (Monarchia Indiana, Seville, 1615, and Madrid, 1723), both translated by Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 95-144. In Burney's Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 467-478, Appendix, No. i. was printed, for the first time, the "Relation of Luis Vaez de Torres, concerning the discoveries of Quiros as his almirante. Dated Manilla, 12th July 1607;" translated by Mr Dalrymple from a Spanish MS. in his possession.

tipodes of the greater part of Europe, Africa, and Asia. The viceroy, to whom he detailed his views, heartily approved of the project; but the limits of his authority hindered him from furnishing means for its execution, and he therefore sent him to Spain with letters of recommendation to the king and his ministers. These were successful. Quiros left the court "with the most honourable schedules which had ever passed the council of state," and arriving at Lima and "throwing into oblivion all that he had endured for eleven years in the pursuit of so important an object,"* he began to prepare for his long-cherished enterprise.

Having built two vessels and a zabra (a kind of launch), the strongest and the best armed, says Torquemada, of any that had been seen on either sea, on the 21st of December 1605, he set sail from the port of Callao, having under him, as second in command, Luis Vaez de Torres.† Six Grey or Franciscan Friars accompanied the expedition; and, in conformity with their wonted respect for religion, guns were fired on the 25th during the day, and the ships were illuminated during the night, in honour of the solemn festival of the Nativity. On reaching the latitude of 26° south, Quiros considered it proper to pursue a more northerly track, in opposition to the advice of Torres, who thought that by advancing to 30° south there was greater probability of finding the desired con-

* Torquemada. Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 104.

† Cook, in the introduction to his second voyage, falls into the singular mistake of representing Torres as commander of the expedition, and Quiros only as pilot. Voyage towards the South Pole, and round the World, in the years 1772-1775. 3d edition. London, 1779.—Gen. Introd. p. xii.

tinent. On the 26th of January 1606, between the parallels of 24° and 25° south latitude, and 1000 leagues west from Peru, land was seen. It was a low flat island, with a sandy surface, here and there diversified by a few trees, though apparently without inhabitants, and it received the name of La Encarnacion. Three days after another island was discovered; it was "plain and even a-top," might contain about twelve leagues, and was called San Juan Bautista.* From this Quiros sailed in a north-westerly direction, and on the 4th of February saw an island or group of islands, encircled by a reef and having a lagoon in the centre. This land, which was about thirty leagues in circuit, received the name of Santelmo. The next day four other islands were seen; they were barren and uninhabited, and resembled in all respects those previously discovered. They were called Los Quatros Coronadas; and two of a similar character, observed in the vicinity, were named San Miguel Archangel and Conversion de San Pablo.

On the 9th of February an island was seen in the north-east, and, from the circumstance of being the tenth which had met their eyes, received the appellation of La Decena. It appeared to be like those previously inspected, and the ships passed on. The next day a sailor on the topmast gave the cry of "Land a-head!" to the great joy of all on board. "It was," says Torres, "a low island, with a point to the south-east which was covered with palm-trees;"†

* It may be proper here to state, that the memorial of Torres has preserved a totally different nomenclature of the lands from that given by Quiros, and that for obvious reasons we have adopted the names bestowed by the latter.

† Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 468.

and the columns of smoke which rose from different parts showed that it was inhabited. The zabra was directed to search for an anchorage, and having found it in ten fathoms the boats were sent to effect a landing. About 100 Indians were seen upon the beach making signs of joy; but so great was the surf which broke upon the rocks, that the crews, with heavy hearts, abandoned their intention of landing and resolved to row back to the ships. "They were thus returning quite disconsolate," says Torquemada, "when a brave-spirited young man, Francisco Ponce, a native of Triana, slighting the danger, got up, saying, that if they should thus turn their faces from the first perils which their fate presented, what hope could there be of success in the event?" and with this threw himself into the sea and swam ashore. The islanders welcomed him with much apparent affection, frequently kissing his forehead, and, encouraged by the example now set them, some others leapt into the sea and swam to land. The natives were in colour mulattoes, well limbed, and of good carriage; they were naked, and armed, some with lances of thick wood, burnt at the ends and about twenty-seven palms in length, some with swords of the wood of the palm-tree, and not a few with great clubs. They lived in thatched houses, situated by the margin of the sea among groves of palms. A person who appeared to be a chief had on his head a kind of crown made of small black feathers, but so fine and soft that they looked like silk. In one of the woods was discovered what seemed to be an altar, rudely formed of stones; and "our people," says the Spanish chronicler, "solicitous where the Prince of Darkness had dwelt to place the royal

standard whereby the Prince of Light gave life to us, with Christian zeal cut down a tree with their knives, which they formed into a cross and fixed in the middle of the place."* The island was found to be divided by a narrow isthmus which was overflowed at high water; its latitude was between 17° 40′ and 18° 30′ south, and its longitude, as computed from the different accounts, has been fixed by Burney at 147° 2′ west from Greenwich.† This discovery was named La Sagitaria, and has, by the most eminent geographers, been generally considered as identical with Otaheite. This opinion has been founded on the coincidence of position, on the similarity of the isthmus, on the resemblance in extent and form, and, above all, on the circumstance that no other island, widely as the Pacific has now been searched, is known to which the description will at all apply. But it must not be concealed that there are many and material objections to this theory. Torres expressly describes it as a "low island,"—a remark which is quite irreconcilable with the mountain-peaks of Otaheite; and even the account of the isthmus, in so far as regards its being overflowed at high water, does not agree. The other discrepancies are, that the shores of Sagitaria afforded no anchorage, and that its smaller peninsula must have been at least eight Spanish leagues in extent,—facts which are altogether inapplicable to Otaheite.‡ Little weight, however, has been given to these remarks, and the identity of the two islands is now

* Torquemada. Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 113.

† Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 282.

‡ Wales' Remarks on Mr Foster's Account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage round the World in the years 1772-1775. London, 1778. Pp. 24, 25, 26.

generally admitted; though, when all circumstances are considered, doubts may still be entertained as to the soundness of the conclusion.

On the 12th of February, Quiros resumed his voyage, and, while yet in sight of La Sagitaria, saw a very low island, which he named La Fugitiva. On the 21st, another discovery was made of a plain and uninhabited spot, which was called El Peregrino. About this time a mutiny broke out on board his ship, headed by the chief pilot; it being the intention of the disaffected to make themselves masters of the vessel and sail in a direct course to the Philippines. The only punishment which Quiros inflicted, was to send the pilot as a prisoner on board the vessel commanded by Torres. On the 2d of March, a level island was seen to the westward; and on a nearer approach it was found to be inhabited. The intercourse with the natives was unfortunately hostile, and much blood was shed; but the beauty of their forms so struck the Spaniards, that they gave them the appellation of La Gente Hermosa. There is reason to believe that this is the same with the San Bernardo of Mendana.

Quiros continued to sail westward in the parallel of 10° south upwards of thirty days. Towards the end of that period frequent signs of land were observed, and on the afternoon of the 7th of April a high and black coast was discovered. They failed to reach it, however, before the 9th, when it was found to be inhabited: many houses were descried on the beach and among the woods; and on a small islet, which had been converted into a rude fort, were about seventy dwellings. This island-fortress was taken possession of by the Spaniards

without opposition,—the vicinity of Santa Cruz, and a knowledge of Mendana's transactions there, having taught the savages the fatal efficacy of fire-arms. The appellation of this country was Taumaco, and its inhabitants were apparently of different races, —some having a light copper-colour, with long hair, —others resembling mulattoes,—while a third class had the black skin and frizzled hair of the Oceanic negro. Their arms were bows and arrows, and they had large sailing canoes. From the chief, whose name was Tumay, Quiros obtained information of upwards of sixty islands, and, among others, of a large country called Manicolo. He determined to sail in quest of these, and on the 19th quitted Taumaco; and, changing his course to the southward, reached an island which, in appearance and in inhabitants, resembled the one he had just left, and was by the natives denominated Tucopia. The voyagers still proceeded southward till they passed the latitude of 14°, at which point they pursued a westerly direction; and after one day's sailing, discovered a volcano surrounded by land, about three leagues in circuit, well wooded, and inhabited by black people with large beards. When near this island, which was named Nuestra Senora de la Luz, land was perceived to the westward; while in the south, and "towards the S. E." was seen "other land still larger, which seemed to have no end, and was full of great mountains." After some deliberation it was resolved to make for the island in the west, which received the name of Santa Maria; but, after touching there, Quiros determined to steer towards the high regions that lay to the south. On the 2d of May, he moved the vessels into a large bay, and, believing that he had at

length discovered the great southern continent, gave it the name of AUSTRALIA DEL ESPIRITU SANTO.

The bay, in honour of the festival on which they had entered it, was named San Felipe y Santiago; while a port far within, where they anchored, was called La Vera Cruz. This harbour, which could have contained above a thousand ships, was situated between two streams, one of which was named Jordan and the other Salvador. Of these rivers one was equal in size to the Guadalquivir at Seville. "The strands of this bay," says Torquemada, "are broad, long, and clear; the sea is here still and pleasant, for although the winds blow strong, within the bay the water is scarce moved. There are in all parts in front of the sea pleasant and agreeable groves, extending to the sides of many mountains which were in sight; and also from the top of one, to which our people climbed, were perceived at a distance extremely fertile valleys, plain and beautiful; and various rivers winding amongst the green mountains. The whole is a country which, without doubt, has the advantage over those of America, and the best of the European will be well if it is equal."*—"From the breaking of the dawn," says Quiros, "is heard through all the neighbouring wood a very great harmony of thousands of different birds, some to appearance nightingales, blackbirds, larks, and goldfinches, and infinite numbers of swallows, and besides them many other kinds of birds, even the chirping of grashoppers and crickets. Every morning and evening were enjoyed sweet scents wafted from all kinds of flowers, amongst

* Torquemada. Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 137.

them that of orange-flowers and sweet basil."* As the boats rowed towards this second Eden, the islanders crowded to the beach, and endeavoured, by friendly signs, to prevent their landing. The Spaniards, however, leapt on shore; upon which a native chief drew a line on the ground with his bow, and made signs that the strangers should not pass beyond it. But Luis Vaez de Torres, thinking this would appear cowardly, stept across the boundary, and strife instantly ensued. A flight of arrows, on the one side, was responded to by a discharge of musketry on the other, which killed the chief and several of his followers. From this time all peace was at an end; the savages rejected every offer of conciliation, and by sudden ambuscade and open attack sought revenge for the blood of their leader. This ceaseless enmity, and the failure of provisions, determined Quiros to quit the place before a month had elapsed. He had, however, previously taken possession of the country, in the name of the king, and founded a city under the title of La Nueva Jerusalen. The natives are described as black, corpulent, and strong. Their houses are built of wood and thatched, and they have plantations enclosed with palisades. They are possessed of musical instruments resembling the flute and drum; they manufacture some sort of earthen vessels, and build large canoes adapted to long voyages.

In endeavouring to quit the harbour of San Felipe y Santiago, much stormy weather was en-

* "Relation of a Memorial presented by Captain Pedro Fernandez de Quiros." Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 170.

countered, and for some reasons, which cannot now be ascertained, Quiros parted company with his consort. After a vain search for the island of Santa Cruz, he agreed, in compliance with the opinion of his officers, to sail for Mexico, where he arrived in the middle of October.

Still thirsting after discovery and adventure, he once more repaired to the court of Spain, and continued there several years, beseeching the throne for assistance to pursue the search of new lands. So great was his importunity that he is said to have presented no fewer than fifty memorials. One of these, after discussing in glowing language the beauty and fertility of the Australia, thus concludes:—"Acquire, sire, since you can, acquire heaven, eternal fame, and that new world with all its promises. And since there is none who solicits of your majesty the rewards for the glad tidings of so great and signal a blessing of God, reserved for your happy time, I, sire, supplicate them, and as such my despatch, for the galleons are ready, and I have many places to go to, and much to provide and to do. If Christoval Colon's conjectures did make him pertinacious, what I have seen, what I have felt, and what I offer, must make me so importunate."* The solicitations of Quiros were at last crowned with success, and in 1614 he set out on his way to Lima, in order to arrange another expedition. But this gratification he was doomed never to enjoy; he died, while on his journey, at Panama.

We now return to Torres, who, during two weeks after the departure of Quiros, remained in the Bay of San Felipe y Santiago. On leaving this he sail-

* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. i. pp. 173, 174.

ed along the west side of the Australia del Espiritu Santo, which he found to be well watered and possessed of many ports. He also ascertained that it was no continent, but an island. He continued to steer to the south-westward, till he reached the 21° of south latitude, when he changed his course to the north-east, and in 11½° encountered what he believed to be the eastern extremity of New Guinea. Being unable to weather this point, he directed his course to the westward, along the southern coasts, and having sailed through the strait between New Holland and New Guinea, which he was the first to penetrate, arrived at Manilla in May 1607.

Holland was now rising fast in the scale of maritime importance, and gradually assuming that station which the Spaniards had so long occupied. Following the example first set by the English, the Dutch had already sent two fleets into the South Sea, as is related in the preceding chapter; and, in pursuing the course of the narrative, we now reach a period at which they hold the most distinguished place in the history of navigation and discovery. The cession of the Moluccas by Spain to Portugal put an end for some time to the disputes between these powers in the Pacific, and the union of the two crowns in 1581 prevented any renewal of the contests. The islands themselves, however, never wholly submitted to the dominion of either of those masters; and when the Dutch, in 1599, first visited Ternate, they found encouragement to establish a factory; where, from that time, they steadily pursued plans for securing an exclusive trade. Their East India Company (established in 1602) fitted out six vessels, which, under George

Spilbergen, sailed from the Texel on the 8th of August 1614, destined to penetrate through the Straits of Magellan to the South Sea, there to cruise against the Spaniards, and to strengthen the power of their countrymen in the Spice Islands. They were furnished equally for war or for trade; and so ably was the expedition conducted, that the five largest vessels reached the Moluccas in safety, after defeating Roderigo de Mendoza with a greatly superior force near the American coast. The Peruvian admiral had boasted that he would make prisoners or slay the whole of his enemies:—"Two of my ships," he said, "would take all England; how much more those Hens of Holland, after so long a journey has spent and wasted them!"* In the encounter, the Low Country warriors betrayed nothing of the spirit of the fowl to which they were insultingly compared; but the arrogant governor did not survive to encounter the ridicule which he had justly merited, for his vessel, after escaping from the conflict, went down at sea. It was not to be expected that a Dutchman, whose orders were to employ himself in fighting and traffic, should deviate from the accustomed track in search of new lands, or spend much time in investigating the character and manners of the people; his voyage accordingly presents nothing that is now interesting in either of these respects, though the survey of the Straits of Magellan and of Manilla furnished to mariners better charts of these channels than any before executed. On the 29th March 1616, Spilbergen arrived at the Moluccas, and till the end of the year conti-

* Purchas, vol. i. p. 81.

nued occupied with the affairs of his employers. He seems then to have left his own vessels, and, coming home in command of the Amsterdam and Zealand, arrived on the 1st July 1617.

By the charter of the Dutch East India Company, no other merchants were allowed to pass round the Cape of Good Hope or through the Straits of Magellan to the Moluccas,—a prohibition supposed to be sufficient to secure to that body an exclusive trade in the spices. Many English pilots were, however, about this time in the service of the United Provinces; and by their means, it is probable, was the fact made known, that Drake had discovered an open sea to the south of Tierra del Fuego. Accordingly, about the year 1613, some merchants, proceeding on this ground, imagined that a new passage might be found to India, and that they might thus acquire a right to participate in the gainful traffic to these regions. An expedition was accordingly planned, chiefly, as appears, by Isaac le Maire, a wealthy citizen of Amsterdam, and by William Schouten, a native of Hoorn, and an experienced mariner. Their object was not openly avowed: they obtained from the States-general the privilege of making the first four voyages to the places which they might discover, and formed themselves into an association under the name of the Southern Company; but as the destination of the vessels was not disclosed to the seamen, who were engaged to sail whithersoever their commanders chose, the other merchants were displeased because they could not penetrate the designs of their neighbours, and those who engaged in the enterprise were derisively denominated Gold Seekers.*

* It is proper to observe, that the details of the voyage of

Schouten, accompanied by Jacob le Maire, the son of Isaac, in the capacity of supercargo, sailed from the Texel on the 14th of June 1615, with two ships, the Eendracht and Hoorn. It was not till the 25th of October, after they had crossed the line, that the crews were informed of the intentions of their leaders; and when told that they were steering by a

Schouten and Le Maire are in many instances involved in doubt. Two accounts of their voyage were published shortly after its completion, written by the respective friends of the two navigators, and the discrepancies between these narratives, though they do not affect the more important events of the voyage, involve the minuter details in much perplexity. There is sometimes a difference between their reckonings of from twenty-five to forty-five minutes of latitude; they vary in their dates to the extent of eight or nine days; and even while they agree as to the substance of events, they differ as to the order of their occurrence. In the following account, we have endeavoured to reconcile their conflicting statements so far as possible; and where that was not practicable, have generally given preference to the authority of the first-published account, the *Journal of the Voyage of William Schouten*, which appeared at Amsterdam in 1617, in the Dutch and French languages, bearing in the latter the title of "Journal ou Description du Merveilleux Voyage de Guillaume Schouten." It was translated into Latin by De Bry in 1619, and an English translation appeared at London in the same year, and afterwards in Purchas, vol. i. p. 88-107. The second narrative of the voyage was printed at Amsterdam in 1622, under the title of "Journal et Miroir de la Navigation Australe de Jacques Le Maire, Chef et Conducteur de deux Navires." In addition to these have appeared various other relations, to which it is not necessary to advert, as they are of no authority, and contain nothing but what will be found in the two original authorities. But one exception must be made from this judgment,—the "Navigation Australe par Jac. le Maire et par W. Corn. Schouten," said to be compiled from the Journal of Adrian Claesz, and published in the "Recueil des Voyages à l'Etablissement de la Comp. des Indes Orient." Translations of the Journals of Schouten and of Le Maire, and of parts of that attributed to Claesz, are inserted in Dalrymple's Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 1-64. An able and critical narrative will be found in Burney's valuable work. This author, though he seems frequently to have preferred the account given by the friends of Le Maire, states with much candour that, "on comparison, the fact appears that the greater portion of the *Navigation Australe de Le Maire* is taken from the *Journal du Merveilleux Voyage de W. Schouten*, and that the editor has endeavoured to disguise the plagiarism by verbal alterations."—Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 360.

new passage to the south of the Straits of Magellan, for the "Terra Australis" (probably the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros), some of them, that they might not forget the name, wrote it in their caps with chalk. The ships were conducted into Port Desire, where, during the process of careening, the Hoorn was accidentally burnt. On shore were found multitudes of birds like lapwings. A man, standing in one spot, could with his hands reach fifty-four nests, each containing three or four eggs. Thousands of these were carried on board and used as food, to the no small saving, doubtless, of the five cheeses, and other provisions, which had been apportioned to each sailor for the voyage.* On the main land some pools of fresh water were found, by following the direction in which certain animals with long necks, supposed to be harts, but probably horses, were observed daily to repair for the purpose, as was rightly conjectured, of drinking. On the summits of hills and on elevated rocks were observed piles of stones, which some of the people had the curiosity to remove; and beneath, without any pit being dug, were found human skeletons, several of which, it is alleged, measured ten or eleven feet in length, and "the skulls," it is said in the description which accompanies the plates inserted in the "Journal du Merveilleux Voyage de Schouten," "we could put on our heads in the manner of helmets."

On the 13th of January 1616, the Eendracht left Port Desire,† and stood to the southward. On the

* "It was ordered that every man should have a can of beere a day, foure pound of bisket, and halfe a pound of butter (besides sweet suet) a weeke, and five cheeses for the whole voyage."—Purchas, vol. i. p. 88.

† When Sir John Narborough lay at Port Desire in 1670, he

18th they saw the islands of Sibald de Weert (the Falklands), and two days after, at noon, passed the latitude of the entrance of the Straits of Magellan. It was now that the most critical part of their voyage commenced, and the winds, soundings, and appearances of the land and water, were observed and noted with the greatest minuteness. On the 24th, they came to the most easterly point of Tierra del Fuego, and saw another country still farther in the same direction, which they named Staten Land, in honour of the States of Holland. Passing through the channel, which afterwards in a meeting of their council was entitled the Strait of Le Maire, the coast on the left was found to diverge towards the east, while that on the right turned west-south-west; and the mariners knew they had a wide sea before them, the colour of the water being blue, and long waves coming from the south-west. At last, on the 30th, they passed the most southerly point of Tierra del Fuego, which was

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discovered a relic of the visit of Schouten and Le Maire. "One of my men," he writes, "found a piece of sheet lead, which had this inscription engraven on it:—

'MDCXV. EEN SCHIP ENDE EEN JACHT GENAEMT EENDRACHT EN HOORN GEARRIVEERT DEEN VIII DECEMBER VERTROKEN MET EEN SCHIP D'EENDRACHT DEN X. JANUARY: MDCXVI.

C. J. LE MAIRE. S. W. C. SCHOVTS.

AR. CLASSEN. I. C. SCHOVTS. CL. IANSEN BAN.'

(*i. e.* MDCXV. A ship and a yacht, named Eendracht and Hoorn, arrived here on the 8th December. Departed with the ship Eendracht 10th January MDCXVI.) In a hole of the post lay a tin box, with a sheet of written paper enclosed in it, but so eaten by the rust of the box that it could not be read. We found several pieces of board of the wreck of some ship that had been burned." —Journal kept by Captain John Narborough: Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iii. pp. 334, 335. These fragments must have belonged to the Hoorn, which, as has been mentioned, accidentally took fire while being careened. There is a discrepancy of three days between the date of departure in the inscription and in the accounts of the voyage.

named Cape Horn or Hoorn, in honour of the town of Hoorn in West Friesland, the birthplace of Schouten. The land was high and hilly, covered with snow. In some parts of this ocean, whales were so numerous that the pilots were incessantly obliged to alter their course in order to avoid running against them, while in others the sea-birds, unused to the sight of human beings, alighted in the ship and suffered themselves to be taken by the sailors. The weather was frequently tempestuous, and they never wanted rain or mist, snow or hail. On the 3d of February, they were in 59° 30′, their greatest southern latitude, from which, standing north-west, they reckoned on the 12th that they had again attained the parallel of the Straits of Magellan, and consequently had effected a new passage into the Pacific Ocean; for joy of which, an allowance of three cups of wine was dealt out to all the men.

At Juan Fernandez they missed the anchorage, but obtained a little water, and were most successful in their fishing, the bait being caught the moment it was dropt, so that those employed "continually without ceasing did nothing but draw up" bream and corcobados. From this island, in a course north-west by north, they crossed the southern tropic, then stood north-west as far as 18° of south latitude. On the 10th of April was discovered a circular strip of land full of trees, with sea-birds perched on the branches, the interior having the appearance of being overflowed at high water. No marks of inhabitants could be perceived, but three dogs were seen, which, as the Dutchmen allege, could neither bark nor growl; and from this circumstance it was denominated Honden or Dog

Island. On the 14th, they came to another narrow border well covered with wood, surrounding a salt-water lake in the middle, and styled it Sonder-grondt, or Bottomless, because they failed to obtain soundings. A great number of natives, of a copper colour, with long black hair fastened up behind, were seen; some of whom, pushed off in a canoe, and addressed themselves to the Dutch by signs and speeches, in which they became so emphatic as to overset their bark. Those on shore waved their garments and branches of trees, thereby inviting, as was supposed, the strangers to land. By and by their skiffs ventured nearer the ship, and one of them getting into the gallery, showed that he knew the value of iron, by drawing the nails from the cabin-windows and concealing them in his hair. As it was understood that hogs and fowls were plentiful, a party went ashore in the boat for the purpose of trading; but immediately on their landing, about thirty islanders rushed from the woods and assaulted them. The discharge of three muskets soon put them to flight; but from this inauspicious beginning it was thought needless to attempt any farther to establish a friendly intercourse. The noses of these people are described as flat, "which," as Burney remarks, "is no part of the general character of the inhabitants of any of the islands at present known in the South Seas."* On the 16th, our navigators filled four casks of water from an island resembling those previously visited, and which they named Waterlandt. Two days after, another being descried, some of the crew landed and entered a wood, where, seeing a native with

* Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 381.

what appeared to be a bow in his hand,* and having no arms themselves, they hastened back to the ship covered with black flies, which infested all on board three or four days. The name of Vlieghen or Fly Island was in consequence bestowed on the place.

On the 8th of May, when out of sight of land, an Indian vessel was observed standing to the north, across the course of the Eendracht, from which three guns were fired as a signal that the other should lay to. It was strange that Schouten, who must have been aware that fire-arms were entirely unknown to many of these poor islanders, should have expected such a signal to be understood, or thought that, upon their failing to comply, he might justly use violence. The Indians at first paid no attention to the summons, and on its repetition made every endeavour to escape. A boat was, however, lowered with ten musketeers, who speedily out-manœuvred the fugitives, and, when within half-range, mercilessly fired four shots among them, by which one was wounded, and immediately leapt into the sea. Fifteen or sixteen others, in terror blackened their faces with ashes, threw overboard their merchandise, which consisted of small mats and some fowls, and committed themselves to the waves, one man carrying an infant with him. The Dutch found in the vessel eight women with three children at the

* "They saw a savage who *seemed to them* to have a bow in his hand," says the Journal of Schouten; and it is remarked, in the description of an island *subsequently* visited (see below, p. 134), that "these were *the first* bows we saw at the islands in the South Seas." The Navigation Australe of Le Maire speaks positively of having "perceived a savage man with his bow in his hand, as if to shoot fish." But the observations of modern navigators tend, without exception, to establish the fact that bows and arrows are not in use on Fly Island.

breast, and several others nine or ten years old, an aged man also, and the wounded youth who had returned on board; but no weapons of any kind. When the canoe had been taken alongside of the Eendracht, the boat returned to the assistance of the Indians in the water, of whom only two were saved, who pointed downwards, to signify that all the rest had gone to the bottom. They fell on their faces before their conquerors, kissing their feet and hands; and on being presented with knives and beads, gave in return two mats and two cocoa-nuts, although they had little provisions left for their own use. Their whole stock of fresh-water being exhausted, they drank from the sea, and supplied their children with the same beverage. Towards evening, the Indians were put on board their canoe, "that were welcome to their wives, which clasp them about the necks, and kissed them;"* one of the women, however, appeared to be in much affliction, lamenting the loss of her husband. Their hopes of a prosperous traffic being blasted by this cruel disaster, the savages now steered a course the reverse of that they had formerly held, on their return, no doubt, to the place whence they had adventurously sailed, quitting sight of land without any of the aids which render such a navigation safe.

On the 11th May, the ship anchored at Cocos Island, so named from the abundance of that species of fruit: another island lay about a league to the south-south-west. Canoes soon flocked to the place, and by degrees a few of the natives ventured on board, and being entertained with some tunes by a seaman who played on the fiddle, they danced and

* Purchas, vol. i. p. 96.

"showed themselves joyful and delighted beyond measure." Numerous groups speedily resorted to the vessel, admiring every thing they saw, and pilfering whatever they could carry off. "They wondered at the greatnesse and strength of the shippe, and some of them crept downe behind at the rother (rudder), under the ship, and knockt with stones upon the bottome thereof, to proove how strong it was."* They brought for traffic plenty of cocoas, bananas, yams, and some small hogs, which were purchased at an easy rate for old nails and beads; and so eager were they, that those in the outer canoes secured their commodities in their teeth, and dived under the rest, endeavouring to cut them out from the advantage of lying closer to the ship. The king of the southern island had sent a present to the Eendracht, and received one in return. The next day he came with a large assemblage of his people, ostensibly for trade, which was carried on as usual for some time; but, on the striking of a drum, the whole of them, amounting to about 1000, set up a shout, and assailed the Hollanders with stones. The great-guns and musketry soon dispersed these rude warriors in consternation, and Schouten set sail, naming their country Verraders or Traitors' Island. The voyagers remarked among them one man perfectly white. On the 14th, in searching for anchorage near an island which they called Good Hope, from its presenting a fair promise of supplying their want of fresh water, an affray took place with the natives; for which reason they again thought it advisable to continue their course.

* Purchas, vol. i. p. 97.

On the 18th May, they were in latitude 16° 5′ south, and on this day a general council was held to decide on the future direction of their voyage. Schouten represented, that though they were now at least 1600 leagues westward from the coast of Peru, they had discovered no part of the Terra Australis, and that no indications even of its existence had yet been met with. There was, he stated, little likelihood of their success, and they had besides sailed much farther to the westward than was their original intention. The result of continuing in their present track, he said, must be that they would *fall* upon the southern coasts of New Guinea, and in the event of their not finding a passage on that side of the island, they must without doubt be lost, as the constant trade-winds would altogether preclude their return to the eastward.* He bade them remember also that their store of victuals was but small, and that there was little prospect of increasing it; and concluded by asking, if it were not better, considering all these things, to alter their course and to sail northward, thus passing by the upper shores of New Guinea, and reach the Molucca Islands. This suggestion was at once adopted, and their line of motion changed to the north-north-west. Towards evening of the next day, they came in sight of land, divided apparently into two islands, distant from each other about a cannon-shot. They directed the ship towards them; but, owing to contrary winds, it was not until the noon of the 21st that they got within a league's

* This reasoning shows that Schouten was ignorant of the strait between New Guinea and New Holland, discovered by Luis Vaez de Torres. See above, p. 115.

distance. About twenty canoes instantly came off, filled with people much resembling the inhabitants of Good Hope Island. As they approached the vessel they made a great hallooing, which was interpreted by the navigators into a salutation of welcome, and answered with the sound of trumpets and shouting. One of the natives, however, having been observed to shake his wooden *assagay* or spear in a warlike manner, and the theft of a shirt from the gallery having been discovered, a cannon and some muskets were discharged against them, by which two of the savages were wounded, and the whole put to flight, the linen (which belonged to the president) being thrown into the sea. A boat which was afterwards despatched to search for a more convenient anchorage was attacked, and, in the conflict which ensued, six of the islanders were killed, several wounded, and one canoe captured.

On the 23d, the ship was drawn into a bay, and safely moored at about the distance of a stone's throw from the shore, and so near to a stream of fresh water that a supply could be procured by the boats within range of the guns. Here the adventurers remained seven days, holding a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants, and receiving provisions from them, in return for knives, beads, nails, and trinkets. Immediately on their anchoring, these last flocked in vast numbers to the beach, and soon after came off to the ship in their canoes. Towards night an old man brought four bunches of cocoa-nuts as a present from the *ariki* or *herico*, the title by which, here as well as at Cocos Island, the chief or king was distinguished.

He refused to accept any gift in return, but invited the Europeans to go on shore. Accordingly, on the morning of the next day, three of them landed, six of the natives having been first put on board the ship as hostages. They were welcomed with much ceremony, and found the sovereign seated on a mat in an open house or shed, called a *belay*. On their approach, he joined his hands and bowed his head downwards, remaining in that position nearly half an hour; when the Hollanders having at length put themselves into a similar posture, he resumed his usual attitude. One of his attendants, supposed to be a chief of high rank, kissed the feet and hands of one of the Dutchmen, "sobbing and crying like a child, and putting the foot of Adrian Claesz upon his neck." A present was given to the principal ruler, of two hand-bells, a red bonnet, and some trifling articles, all of which were received with much joy, expressed by repeated exclamations of "*Awoo!*" In return, the visiters were gratified with four small hogs. During the time the sailors were taking in water, "when any of the Indians came neere the boat, the king himselfe came thither and drave them thence, or sent one of his men to doe it." His subjects seemed to yield him implicit obedience, and to hold him in great awe. A native having stolen a cutlass, a complaint was made to one of the royal attendants, who instantly caused the criminal to be brought back, and beaten with staves. The weapon was restored; and the strangers were informed by signs, that if the ariki knew of it, the thief's head would be cut off. After this, says the Journal of Schouten, "we had nothing stolen from us, neither on the shore, nor in the ship,

nor elsewhere; neither durst they take a fish that we angled for." The report of a musket produced great consternation among the islanders, and caused them to run off quaking and trembling. Their terror was still greater at the discharge of a cannon, which was fired at the desire of the king. They all with one accord, accompanied by his majesty, fled to the woods; "but not long after they came againe, scarce halfe well assured."*

On the 25th, three of the navigators again tried to barter for hogs, but were unsuccessful. The king, however, "after he had said his prayers, which he used to doe every time that they went on shore," showed much kindness towards them. On the 26th, Jacob le Maire landed, and made some trifling presents. He met with much respect, though he failed to procure a supply of stock. The ariki and his son bestowed upon him and his companion a headdress, consisting of feathers of various colours, which they themselves wore. This cap seems to have been a mark of honour peculiar to the king and his family; while every member of his council was distinguished by having a dove sitting on a perch beside him. On the evening of the 27th, some fish which had been caught during the day were presented to his majesty, who immediately devoured them raw, "heads, tails, entrails and all, with good appetite." The night closed in festivities, some of the Hollanders remaining on shore, and mingling in the moonlight dances of the natives. Two of the sailors performed a mock fight with swords,—a spectacle which excited much admiration among the islanders. On the 28th, the voyagers, attended with trumpets,

* Purchas, vol. i. pp. 99, 100.

went on shore in state, to visit the king; when they became spectators of an interview between him and a neighbouring prince.

On the 29th, Le Maire, accompanied by three of the seamen, made an excursion into the interior of the country, having a son and a brother of the ariki for guides. They saw nothing worthy of remark, except a red earth used by the natives for paint, and several caves and holes in the mountains, with divers thickets and groves where they lay in ambush in time of war. On their return, the young nobles went with the captain on board his vessel, and evinced much satisfaction on being informed, that if a few hogs and yams could be obtained the ship would sail in two days. In the afternoon, the monarch, with sixteen of his attendants, appeared on deck with the donation of a hog and a basket of cocoa-nuts. He delivered these with much ceremony: having placed the basket on his neck, he prostrated himself, and in this posture offered his gifts to Le Maire, who raised him up, and sat down beside him. At the command of the ariki, his people lifted the Dutch officer and another, and placed them upon their shoulders as a token of reverence. The chief was then conducted through the various parts of the ship, expressing his wonder at what he saw. When led into the hold, "he fell down upon his face and prayed,"—a ceremony which he performed when he first came on board. His attendants kissed the feet of the seamen, and placed them on their own heads and necks, in sign of an entire submission. In the evening, one of the Europeans having been successful in taking a quantity of fish, went to present some to the king, when he found a number of girls

dancing to the music of a hollow piece of wood like a pump, " which made a noyse, whereat the yong wenches danced after their manner, very finely, and with a good grace, according to the measure of the noyse of the instrument."*

The king, on the morning of the 30th, sent to the ship two small hogs. On the afternoon of the same day he received a visit from a neighbouring ariki, who was accompanied by 300 men, bringing with them sixteen hogs. As the stranger chief drew near to his brother sovereign, he began at some distance to perform strange ceremonies, and bowing down his body fell to the ground on his face, and remained there " praying" with a loud voice, and apparently with great fervour. The native prince advanced to meet his visiter, and went through the same forms. " After much adoe, they both rose up on their feete, and went and sate together under the king's *belay*, and there were assembled together at least 900 men." In the afternoon the Dutch witnessed a kava-feast. A number of the people having chewed the kava (a sort of green herb) in their mouths for some time, deposited it in a wooden vessel; they then poured water on it, and having stirred it, the liquor was partaken of by the arikis and their attendants. The islanders, says the Journal of Schouten, " presented that notable drinke (as a speciall and a goodly present) to our men; but they had enough, and more than enough, of the sight thereof."† On this occasion, likewise, the discoverers observed the manner in which these savages cooked their hogs. Sixteen were prepared for the present banquet as follows:

* Purchas, vol. i. p. 100. † Ibid.

being ripped up, the entrails removed, and the hair singed off, they were roasted by means of hot stones placed in the internal cavity.

Each of the arikis presented to the foreigners one of the hogs thus dressed, along with a number of the same animals alive; receiving in return "three copper beakers, foure knives, twelve old nayles, and some beades, wherewith they were well pleased."

Early on the morning of the 31st, preparations were made for sailing. After breakfast, the two chiefs came on board with six additional hogs. On this occasion they wore green cocoa-tree-leaves round their necks, which it was presumed was customary with them in taking leave of friends. They were entertained with wine, and received presents of various articles; while a nail was bestowed on each of their attendants. Le Maire accompanied them on shore, when gifts were once more exchanged. At noon the ship proceeded on her voyage, and the Hollanders bade adieu to the natives, on whose island they bestowed the name of Hoorn, in honour of the birthplace of Schouten. The inhabitants are described as of large stature and well-proportioned limbs. They ran swiftly, and were very expert in swimming and diving. Their complexion was a tawny yellow, approaching to the hue of bronze. Much care was bestowed on the dressing of their hair, and they arranged it in several different manners. The ariki had a long lock hanging down to his thighs, and twisted into knots; his attendants wore two such locks, one on each side; and some of the islanders had four or five. The females are described as having a very repulsive appearance and being of small stature; they

wore their hair cut closely to their heads. Such of the habitations as were seen along the margin of the land, were of nearly a conical form, about twenty-five feet in circumference, ten or twelve in height, and covered with leaves. Their furniture consisted of a bundle of dried herbs resembling hay, which served for a couch, one or two fishing-rods, and sometimes a wooden club or staff. The hut of the ariki himself could boast no further decorations. "We could not perceive," says the Journal of Schouten, "that they worshipped God, or any gods, or used any devotion, neither the one nor the other, but lived without care like birds in the wood."* It appeared to them also that the inhabitants subsisted on the spontaneous fruits of the soil: "They neither sowe nor reape, nor doe any worke; there the earth of itselfe yeelds all that they need to sustaine their lives, ... so that there men may plainly behold and see the golden world whereof the poets write."†

On leaving Hoorn, the adventurers pursued a north-westerly course, and on the 21st of June fell in with a group of small islands covered with trees.

* Purchas, vol. i. p. 101. On this passage it must be remarked, that the range of their observation was very limited, and can by no means be admitted as proof that these islanders had no religion; though the "prayers," which the ariki is so often described as using, apparently meant, not devotional adorations, but words of ceremony.

† Purchas, vol. i. p. 101. This passage may perhaps remind the reader of some lines in Lord Byron's poem of "*The Island*:"

"The bread-tree, which without the ploughshare yields
The unreap'd harvest of unfurrow'd fields. . . .
. . . . . lands . . . .
Where all partake the earth without dispute,
And bread itself is gather'd as a fruit.
Where none contest the fields, the woods, the streams,—
The goldless age where gold disturbs no dreams!"

Some of the natives came off to the ship in canoes: they are described as in all respects resembling the inhabitants of the former place, except in their complexion, which was of a more dusky hue, and in their arms, which were bows and arrows, the first that the voyagers had seen in the South Sea. Some beads and nails were presented to them, who, having nothing to give in recompense, pointed to the west to signify that their king dwelt there, in a country abounding with every species of wealth. The next day, sailing in the same course, they passed at least twelve or thirteen islands grouped together; and on the 24th discovered three low ones, which, from their being "very green and full of trees," they named the Green. Another was in sight, on which were discerned seven or eight hovels. This they named St John's, from their having seen it on the 24th of June, the nativity of the Baptist. On the morning of the 25th, they obtained a view towards the south-west of a high land, which they conjectured to be the point of New Guinea, but which in reality was the country since called New Ireland. About noon they drew near to it, and sailed along the shore in a north-westerly direction. The coast is described as very high and green, and of a pleasant aspect. The inhabitants spoke a language totally different from that used by the natives of all the other places at which the vessel had touched. The ship's boat, when employed in sounding for an anchorage, was attacked by a party in canoes with volleys of stones thrown from slings; but a fire of musketry speedily put the savages to flight. In the evening, after the vessel had anchored, some others came off, and addressed the sailors in a dialect which they

did not understand. They remained watching the ship all night, and the Europeans perceived signal-fires lighted along the shore. In the morning, eight skiffs arranged themselves round her; one of them containing eleven, and the others from four to seven men each. The Dutch threw beads to them, and made friendly signs; but the savages all at once commenced an attack with their slings and other weapons. The assault was returned with discharges of cannon and muskets, whereby ten or twelve were killed. At the same time they captured four canoes, and made three prisoners, one of whom died shortly after he was taken; and at noon the two others were carried towards the land in order to be exchanged for provisions. A pig and a bunch of bananas were thus procured, and one of the captives was set at liberty. Two days after, some of them came to the ship, but refused to ransom their countryman; and on the evening of that day the Eendracht proceeded along the coast in a north-westerly direction. Several islands were seen to the northwards; and on the 1st of July she again came to anchor, having an island about two leagues long on the north, and the coast of New Ireland on the south. Here twenty-five canoes commenced an attack, but were repulsed, a number of the natives being killed, and one taken. Here, too, one of the Hollanders was wounded, "being," says the Journal, "the first that was hurt in all our voyage;" and after him the captive was named Moses. They continued to sail along this coast till the 3d, when they lost sight of it; and having passed several small islands, on the 6th they came in sight of the northern coast of New Guinea. About the middle of September, they arrived at the Moluc-

cas, whence, in the end of that month, they sailed to Java. On the 1st of November, while lying off Jacatra, the Eendracht was confiscated by the Dutch East India Company, on the ground that the owners were not partners of that body, and had made the voyage without their leave. Their ship being thus taken from them, several of the seamen entered into the service of the Company, and the remainder embarked for Europe on board the Amsterdam and Zealand, which sailed from Bantam on the 14th of December. Le Maire died a few days after leaving Java; but the rest of the voyagers arrived safely on the 1st of July 1617, having been absent from their native country two years and seventeen days.

The finding of this new passage into the Pacific excited much interest in Europe. To Spain it caused more alarm than any of the hostile armaments which Holland had sent forth against her South Sea possessions, and no time was lost in fitting out an expedition to explore the new discoveries of Schouten and Le Maire. The command was intrusted to two brothers, Bartolome Gracia de Nodal and Gonçalo de Nodal, who, having engaged several Dutch pilots, set sail from Lisbon 27th September 1618. They followed the track of the late adventurers, and in passing Cape Horn saw some small rocky islands lying to the south-westward of that promontory, and named them the Isles of Diego Ramirez. They then steered southward, and, penetrating the Straits of Magellan, completed the circumnavigation of Tierra del Fuego, and arrived at Spain in July 1619.

Contemporaneously with the discovery of Cape

Horn, the Dutch effected another of still greater importance,—that of the vast island or rather continent of New Holland or Australia. It does not fall within the limits of this work to enter on the difficult question how far this country was known to the early Portuguese voyagers. Neither is it in our province to decide whether the honour of its discovery is not due to Luis Vaez de Torres, who, in sailing between New Holland and New Guinea, saw land on the south, which must have been part of this great island.* It may be doubted if the Portuguese were aware of the nature of the lands they are said to have visited; it is certain, moreover, that Torres conceived them to be parts of a large archipelago; and, at all events, these visits led to no beneficial result, and had passed into oblivion. The honour of discovering New Holland, therefore, so far as utility and the advancement of science are concerned, may be safely awarded to the Dutch. In October 1616, the ship Eendracht, commanded by Dirck Hatichs (or, as it has been more commonly, but less correctly written, Hertoge), in her passage from Holland to the East Indies, discovered, in latitude 25°, the western coast of Australia, and called it Land Eendracht,—a name which it still retains.

Only a few years elapsed after the completion of the voyage of Schouten and Le Maire before another armament left Holland for the South Sea. The truce which for twelve years had subsisted between Spain and the United Provinces having expired in 1621, both parties hastened to resume active hostilities. Among other measures, the Dutch, early in

* See above, p. 115.

the year 1623, fitted out a naval armament against Peru; and it is to the proceedings of this fleet that we have now to direct the reader's attention. It consisted of eleven ships, mounting 294 cannon, and supplied with 1637 men, of whom 600 were soldiers. The command was intrusted to Jacob l'Hermite, an officer who had acquired celebrity in the service of their East India Company; and the squadron, which, in honour of Prince Maurice of Nassau, one of its chief promoters, was named the Nassau Fleet, sailed from Goree on the 29th April 1623.

On the 11th August, they anchored off Sierra Leone, and remained there till the beginning of September. During their stay they experienced the fatal effects of that pestilential climate, from which Europeans have since suffered so much. They buried forty-two men, and many more suffered severely, among whom was the Admiral l'Hermite, who contracted a disease from which he never recovered. After leaving this coast, they visited the islands of San Tomas and Annabon, at the latter of which they remained till the beginning of November. It was in their instructions, that they should not touch at any part of the South American continent northward of the Rio de la Plata, and that they should penetrate into the South Sea by the newly-discovered Strait of Le Maire, which was considered to afford a more certain passage than the Straits of Magellan. It was the 1st of February before they made the Cape de Penas on Tierra del Fuego, and on the 2d they entered Strait Le Maire, which the Journal of the Voyage says they would not have known, had not one of the pilots who had previously passed through it recognised the high

mountains on Tierra del Fuego. Some of the ships anchored in two bays near the northern entrance, which they named Verschoor and Valentine, and are the same with the Port Mauritius of modern maps and the Bay of Good Success.

Although the whole fleet had passed through the strait just described on the evening of the 2d of February, yet, owing to contrary winds, they were on the 14th still seven leagues eastward of Cape Horn. The next day, they doubled that promontory, and saw "a great gulf between that cape and the cape next to the west," which they were prevented from entering by bad weather. On the 16th, Cape Horn lay to the eastward, and they discovered two islands, which, according to their reckoning, were distant to the westward fourteen or fifteen leagues. The following morning, they perceived that they had lost ground, and fearing that they should still fall to leeward, they entered a large bay and cast anchor. In this harbour, which was afterwards named Nassau Bay, they remained ten days. On the 23d, some boats, which were sent to procure water, were compelled by a sudden and violent storm to return, leaving nineteen of the crew on shore wholly destitute of arms, of whom next day only two were found alive. The savages, it appeared, as soon as night came on, attacked them with clubs and slings, and killed all except the two, who had contrived to conceal themselves. Only five bodies were discovered, some of which were cut into quarters, and others strangely mangled. Not a single native was seen after this unfortunate event. A party which had been sent to examine the neighbouring coast, re-

ported that the Tierra del Fuego was divided into several islands; that without doubling Cape Horn a passage into the South Sea might be effected, through the Bay or rather Gulf of Nassau, which was open to the east as well as to the west; and that, through some of these numerous openings it was presumed ships might penetrate into the Strait of Magellan. Such parts of the Tierra del Fuego as were seen, appeared decidedly mountainous, though not wanting in many fine valleys and watered meadows. The hills were clad with trees, all of which were bent eastward, owing to the strong westerly winds which prevail in these parts. Spacious harbours, capable of sheltering the largest fleets, were frequently observed between the islands. The natives are described as differing little in stature from the people of Europe, and as being well proportioned in their limbs. Their hair is long, black, and thick, their teeth "as sharp as the blade of a knife." They paint their bodies of different colours and with fanciful devices; their natural complexion, however, seemed to be as fair as that of a European. Some of them were observed to have one side of their body altogether white, and the opposite entirely red; others were remarked with the trunks of their bodies white, and the face, arms, and legs, coloured red. The males were perfectly naked; the females, who were painted like the men, wore only a little piece of skin about the waist, and a string of shells round their neck. Their huts were constructed of trees, in a conical form, having an opening at the top to let the smoke escape; the floor was sunk two or three feet below the level of the ground; and the sides of the walls were covered with earth. Their

Man of Tierra del Fuego.

fishing-tackle consisted of lines, stone hooks, and harpoons, and were generally fabricated with some degree of neatness. For arms they had sharp knives made of stone; slings, bows, and arrows with stone heads; lances pointed with bone, and clubs. Their canoes measured in length from ten to sixteen feet, and about two in width; they were built of the bark of large trees, resembling in shape the gondolas of Venice. In regard to their manners and habits, the report is very unfavourable: They more resemble beasts than human beings; "for besides that they tear men to pieces, and devour the flesh raw and bloody, there was not perceived among them

the smallest indication of a religion or government; on the contrary, they live together like beasts."*

The fleet left Nassau Bay on the 27th February, and for some time met with westerly winds, so that they did not reach the island of Juan Fernandez till the beginning of April. Having taken in water here, they sailed on the 13th for the coast of Peru, and on the 8th of May were off Callao, where they remained until the 14th of August. On the 2d of June, Jacob l'Hermite, the admiral, died of the lingering illness contracted at Sierra Leone, and which was aggravated by the hardships and misfortunes of the expedition. He was buried on the island of Lima, the Isla de San Lorenzo of modern charts; and the vice-admiral, Hugo Schappenham, succeeded to the command. On leaving Callao, they proceeded northward, and after various delays arrived at Acapulco on the 28th of October. Here they remained some time, and having at last finally resolved to proceed westwards to reach the East Indies, on the 29th of November they bade adieu to the shores of Mexico, and directed their course across the Pacific.

On the evening of the 25th January 1625, they came in sight of Guahan, one of the Ladrones or Marians, having on the 15th passed some islands supposed by them to be those of Gaspar Rico, but which more probably belonged to the group San Bartolome, discovered in 1526 by Loyasa.† They left Guahan on the 11th of February, and in the beginning of March arrived at the Moluccas, where the

* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iii. p. 15.

† See above, p. 72; and Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iii. p. 33, and vol. i. p. 138.

fleet having been broken up, the expedition may be said to have terminated. The admiral, Schappenham, embarked in the Eendracht for Holland, but died while off the coast of Java. The vessel proceeded on her voyage, and on the 9th of July 1626 anchored in the Texel; having the first journalist of the expedition on board, who thus reached his native country after an absence of three years and seventy days. This armament failed in effecting the hostile designs with which it was undertaken, and was nearly as unsuccessful in adding to maritime science. It contributed little or nothing to geography but the knowledge of Nassau Bay, and a more accurate examination of the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego.

The discovery of New Holland, which had been commenced by Dirck Hatichs, continued for many years to be occasionally prosecuted by the Dutch; but not before 1642 was it ascertained what were its southern limits, or how far it extended to the eastward. This was effected, at least within a rude degree of accuracy, by Abel Jansen Tasman, one of the most illustrious of the Dutch navigators, and who found a generous and liberal patron in Anthony Van Diemen, the governor of Batavia.*

* For many years the only account of Tasman's voyage was to be found in a curtailed abridgment of his journal, published at Amsterdam in 1674, and a more copious relation inserted in Valentyn's East Indian Descriptions. About 1771, however, a MS. journal of Tasman (supposed to be the original) fell into the hands of Sir Joseph Banks, and was found to be much more complete than any previous narrative. An English translation, executed in 1776 by the Rev. C. G. Woide, was published by Burney,—Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iii. p. 63-110. The journal thus commences:—"Journal or Description by me, Abel Jansz Tasman, of a Voyage from Batavia for making Discoveries of the unknown South Land, in the year 1642. May God Almighty be pleased to give His Blessing to this Voyage! Amen."

The expedition, which was fitted out by him and his council, sailed from Batavia on the 14th August 1642. On the 24th November, they discovered Anthony Van Diemen's Land, so named, says Tasman, "in honour of our high magistrate, the governor-general, who sent us out to make discoveries:" they continued to coast along that island till the 5th December, when they directed their course to the eastward. On the 13th, a shore was discovered, to which Tasman gave the name of Staats or Staten Land, from a belief that it was a part of the country of the same name discovered by Schouten and Le Maire, to the east of Tierra del Fuego; but the name was afterwards changed into New Zealand. During his progress along the coast, he was attacked by the savages with that courage and ferocity which later navigators have so fatally experienced.

For some time after leaving New Zealand the ships pursued a north-easterly course, till, on the 19th of January, they reached a high island, two or three miles in circumference, on which they bestowed the name of Pylstaart or Tropic-bird, from the number of these fowls which frequented it. On the 21st, two more were discovered, distant from each other about a mile and a half. The northern was named Amsterdam, because, says Tasman, "we found plenty of provisions there;" and to the southern they gave the title of Middleburgh. By the natives, the latter is called Eooa, and the former Tongataboo; and the one last mentioned is the principal of the cluster now called the Friendly Islands. Some of the savages approached in a canoe: they are described as exceeding the common stature of Europeans, of a brown com-

plexion, and wearing no other dress than a slight covering round the waist. They called out loudly to the voyagers, who shouted in return, and after showing them some white linen, threw a piece overboard. Before the canoe reached the spot, the cloth had begun to sink; but one of the natives dived in pursuit of it, and after remaining a long time under water brought up the linen, and, in token of his gratitude, placed it several times on his head. They also gave them some beads, nails, and looking-glasses; these the islanders applied in like manner, and in return presented a small line, and a fishing-hook made of shell like an anchovy. The Dutch in vain tried to make them understand that they wanted fresh water and hogs. In the afternoon, however, they were observed in great numbers running along the shore displaying white flags: these were construed as signs of peace, and returned by a similar token hoisted on the stern. On this, a canoe bearing white colours came off to the ship. It contained four individuals with coverings of leaves round their necks, and with their bodies painted black from the waist to the thigh. From the nature of their present, which consisted of some cloth made of the bark of a tree, and from the superiority of their vessel, it was conceived that they came from the chief or sovereign. The officers bestowed upon them a mirror, a knife, spikes, and a piece of linen; a glass was also filled with wine, and having been drank off, was again filled and offered to the natives; but they poured the liquor out, and carried the glass on shore. Shortly after, many canoes arrived to barter cocoa-nuts for nails. A grave old man, who, from the great respect paid to

him, seemed to be a leader, also came on board, and saluted the strangers by placing his head upon their feet. He was presented with a piece of linen and several other articles, and conducted into the cabin. On being shown a cup of fresh water, he made signs that there was some on the island. In the evening, one of the natives was detected in the act of stealing a pistol and a pair of gloves; but the mariners contented themselves with taking the things from him "without anger." Towards sunset, about twenty canoes came from the shore and drew up in regular order near the ship; the people that were in them called out several times in a loud voice, "Woo, woo, woo!" upon which those who were on board sat down, and one of the skiffs came alongside with a present from the king, consisting of a hog, cocoa-nuts, and yams. A plate and some brass-wire were given in return. The exchange of provisions for nails continued until night, when the savages went back to the shore, leaving only one of their number. The following morning, they resumed their station, and the barter was renewed. This day, several females appeared, and it was observed that the elder women had the little finger cut off from both hands. The meaning of this custom the Dutch could not discover; but, as appeared to them, it was confined to the more aged individuals.* The wonders of the ship were

* Later voyagers have found that this is by no means the case. "The most singular circumstance which we observed among these people was, that many of them wanted the little finger on one and sometimes on both hands; the difference of sex or age did not exempt them from this amputation; for even amongst the few children whom we saw running about naked, the greater part had already suffered this loss. Only a few grown people, who had preserved both their little fingers, were an exception to the general rule."—Forster's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 435. Of the origin of this remarkable usage, Forster speaks in the following sen-

shown to the natives; and one of the great guns was fired, which at first occasioned a considerable panic among them; but, on perceiving that no harm followed, they quickly recovered their courage. The men sent on shore to procure water, found the wells so small that they were obliged to take it up in cocoa-nut shells. Next day, they made signs to the chief that the fountains must be made larger. He instantly ordered this to be done by his attendants, and in the mean time conducted the sailors into a pleasant valley, where they were seated on mats, and supplied with cocoa-nuts, fish, and several kinds of fruit. The people of Amsterdam Island, says the captain, "have no idea of tobacco, or of smoking. We saw no arms among them; so that here was altogether peace and friendship. The women wear a covering of mat-work that reaches from the middle to the knees: the rest of their body is naked. They cut their hair shorter than that of the men."* Between the islanders and these their first European visiters there seems to have existed an uninterrupted feeling of kindly good-will. Before departing, Tasman records, that he "ordered a white flag to be brought, and we went with it to three of their chiefs, to whom

tence:—"The native told us that a man lay buried there, and, pointing to the place where his little finger had formerly been cut away, he plainly signified, that when his *maduas* or parents died they mutilated their hands."—Ibid. vol. i. p. 451. The accuracy of this view is doubtful; it is more probable that the mutilation is made as a propitiatory sacrifice to avert death. J. G. Dalyell's Darker Superstitions of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1834, p. 180, and authorities there quoted. It may be added, that the rite is not confined to the natives of the Friendly Isles, but has been observed among the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope, the Guaranos of Paraguay, and the natives of California.

* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iii. p. 84.

we explained that we wished it to be set up in that valley (where they had been entertained with cocoa-nuts, fish, and fruits), and that it might remain there as a sign of peace between us; at which they were much pleased, and the flag was fixed there." A display of the same kindness on the part of the natives led Captain Cook, a century afterwards, to bestow on their country the name of the Friendly Islands. This visit of the Dutch was brought prematurely to a close, by the winds having driven one of their vessels from her anchorage.

A few hours' sail in a north-easterly direction brought the voyagers to a cluster of islands, the largest of which, called by the natives Annamooka, they named Rotterdam. They remained here some days, maintaining an amicable intercourse with the savages. During an excursion into the interior, they "saw several pieces of cultivated ground or gardens, where the beds were regularly laid out into squares, and planted with different plants and fruits, bananas, and other trees, placed in straight lines, which made a pleasant show, and spread round about a very agreeable and fine odour." The inhabitants are represented as resembling those of Amsterdam Island, and so addicted to thieving that they stole every thing within their reach. They appeared to possess no form of government, and to be without a king or chief; but one of them detected in stealing, was punished by being beaten with an old cocoa-nut on the back until the nut broke.* They

* With regard to the government of these islanders, there is a discrepancy in the Journal of Tasman, which his translators and commentators have overlooked. In giving a general description of the natives, he expressly says,—"The people of this island have no king or chief."—Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iii. p. 89.

are represented as entirely ignorant of any religion; they practise no worship; and are without idols, relics, or priests, though they seem to observe some singular superstitions. "I saw one of them," says Tasman, "take up a water-snake which was near his boat, and he put it respectfully upon his head, and then again into the water. They kill no flies, though they are very numerous, and plague them extremely. Our steersman accidentally killed a fly in the presence of one of the principal people, who could not help showing anger at it." He seems to have formed a very unfavourable estimate of their character, and styles them "people who have the form of the human species, but no human manners."

On leaving this group, he directed his course west-north-west, and, after six days' sailing, came to about eighteen or twenty small islands, surrounded with shoals and sand-banks, which were named Prince William's Islands and Heemskerke's Shoals, and which, from the dangerous reefs surrounding them, have been rarely visited since their first discovery. The remainder of his voyage possesses little interest, as his track was pretty nearly the same which had been pursued by Schouten and Le Maire. He arrived at Batavia on the

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But, in narrating his transactions there, he not only mentions the existence of a chief, but specifies the name by which the natives called him:—"They took us," he says, "to the east side of the island, where six large vessels with masts were lying. They then led us to a pool of water, which was about a mile in circumference; but we were not yet come to the *aigy* or *latoun*, as they call their chief. When we had rested, we again asked where the *aigy* was, and they pointed to the other side of the pool of water; but the day being far advanced, we returned by another way to our boats."—Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iii. p. 88. Modern discoveries have shown that this last passage is correct.

15th June, in the year 1643, after an absence of ten months and one day.

While Tasman was engaged in this voyage, which ascertained the southern boundary of the Terra Australis, another expedition, fitted out by the Dutch West India Company to cruise in the South Sea, dispelled the delusive notions which had been entertained regarding the extent of the Staten Land discovered by Schouten and his colleague. The command of this enterprise was intrusted to Hendrick Brower, who sailed from the Texel on the 6th November 1642, and reached the entrance of Strait Le Maire on the 5th of March following. The day was very clear, and the whole surface of Staten Land was plainly revealed; and, instead of being part of a large continent extending to New Holland, was found to be a small island, nine or ten of their miles, as they calculated, in length. The winds were unfavourable for their passage through the strait, and they resolved to sail to the east of the isle. This they did without meeting any obstacle, and thence pursued the passage by Cape Horn into the South Sea, where no better fortune awaited them than had been experienced by the ill-fated Nassau Fleet. The name of Brower's Strait was given to the track which he had pursued round Staten Island, from a belief that there existed lands to the eastward.

After this voyage, a long period elapsed, marked by an almost total cessation of maritime enterprise. In 1644, it is true, Tasman was again sent out, with instructions to ascertain whether New Guinea, New Holland, and Van Diemen's Land, were one continent, or separated by straits. No record of his voyage,

however, has been preserved, and if he made any discoveries they soon passed into oblivion. In 1675, a merchant of the name of La Roche, born in London of French parents, observed, to the east of Staten Land, an island which appears to be identical with the New Georgia of Cook; and these are the only expeditions on record, from the date of Brower's voyage till we come to the adventures of the Buccaneers, in the latter part of the century.

Many of these rovers became desirous of trying their fortune in the South Seas, and fitted out for that purpose a vessel of eighteen guns, in which they sailed from the Chesapeake 23d August 1683. They were commanded by Captain John Cook, and among their number were several who were afterwards known to fame,—William Dampier, Edward Davis, Lionel Wafer, and Ambrose Cowley. On the coast of Guinea they captured a ship which they christened the Batchelor's Delight, and, having burned their old vessel "that she might tell no tales," embarked on board their prize. In January 1684, they saw the islands first visited by Davis, and at that time distinguished by the appellation of Sibald de Weert. The editor of the journal left by Cowley, one of the historians of the voyage, anxious to flatter the Secretary of the Admiralty, represented these as a new discovery, and gave to them the name of Pepys,—a circumstance which we shall hereafter see occasioned much perplexity and useless search. After passing Cape Horn, the Buccaneers touched at Juan Fernandez, and thence set sail for the coast of Mexico, having been joined in their cruise by the ship Nicholas of London, under the command of John Eaton. In July, Captain

Cook died, and was succeeded as chief officer by Edward Davis, and in September Eaton and Davis parted company,—the former, with whom went Cowley, sailing for the East Indies, and the latter remaining in the South Sea. Shortly after this event, Davis was joined by the Cygnet, Captain Swan, as also by a small bark, manned by Buccaneers; and with this united force, which was still farther augmented by French adventurers, the rovers continued to carry on their depredations with varying success until August 1685. At that time serious dissensions arose, and Swan, leaving his consorts, determined to sail northward to the Californian coast, with the intention of proceeding to the East Indies. In this voyage he was accompanied by Dampier, who has left a narrative of the expedition. It was the 31st of March 1686 before they quitted the American coast and stood westward across the Pacific, nor did they reach the Ladrones until May. After departing from these, they visited in succession the Bashee Islands, the Philippines, Celebes, Timor, and New Holland. In April 1688, they were at the Nicobar Islands, and here Dampier quitted the expedition, and found his way to England in 1691. The Cygnet afterwards perished off Madagascar. In the career of Davis, who, as has been mentioned, remained in the South Sea, the most remarkable event was the discovery of an island named after him, and now generally identified with Easter Island. In 1688, this bold mariner returned to the West Indies.*

* For a minute narrative of this voyage, and an account of the rise and history of the Buccaneers, the reader is referred to the Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier.

The last ten years of the seventeenth century are almost entirely barren in discovery. In 1690, an expedition, fitted out partly for privateering partly for trading purposes, and placed under the command of Captain John Strong, brought to light, in their course to the South Sea, the passage between the two larger islands of the Falkland group. He named this channel Falkland Sound,—a term which has since been generally applied to the islands themselves. In 1699, M. de Beauchesne Gouin, a French commander, detected an island to the east of Tierra del Fuego, and bestowed on it his own name, which it still retains. The same year was marked by a voyage under the auspices of the British government expressly for the extension of geographical science. It was placed under the direction of Dampier, and its object was the more minute examination of New Holland and New Guinea. It added much to our knowledge of these countries, and is the most important contribution to science made by that navigator.

In reviewing the progress of discovery in the seventeenth century, it will be seen that enterprise languished during its latter years, and that almost every addition made to our knowledge was effected in the earlier portion of it. During that time were made the important acquisitions of Staten Island, Strait Le Maire, and Cape Horn, and of several harbours and islands of Tierra del Fuego. In the more central parts of the Pacific there were visited the New Hebrides, the groups of the Society and Friendly Islands, and many of the smaller isles scattered over the great ocean. On the Asiatic side, some information had been obtained of New Hol-

land, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand. The coasts of New Guinea were more accurately examined, and many of the islands which stretch along its shores were explored. The existence of a strait between New Guinea and New Holland was ascertained; though, from accidental circumstances, the memory of this achievement was soon lost. Such were the advances made in geographical science during the first forty years of the century; the remaining portion was undistinguished by any acquisition of great importance. In this long space we have to enumerate only the discoveries of one of the Carolines, which gave its name to the group, of New Georgia, Easter and Beauchesne Islands, Falkland Sound, and a survey of some parts of Australia.

Of the three circumnavigations made in the course of this age, all were performed by the Dutch.* Spain had now withdrawn from the field of enterprise into which she was the first to enter; and during the seventeenth century but one expedition for South Sea discovery of any note was fitted out from her ports. England, distracted by the great civil war and other events, had neglected to follow up the career so boldly begun by Drake and Cavendish;

* We have followed Burney and Bougainville in not assigning the title of circumnavigations to the expeditions of the Buccaneers between 1683 and 1691, above narrated. We may here also state, that we can neither rank Gemelli Careri (1697) nor M. de Pagès (1767-1776) among circumnavigators, because that word can hardly be applied to travellers who, indeed, encircled the globe, but did so by crossing the Isthmus of Darien and several parts of Asia. M. de Pagès can have been styled a circumnavigator only by those who had read no farther than the titlepage of his book, and were ignorant of the meaning attached by the French to the word voyage —"Voyages autour du Monde et vers les deux Poles. Par M. de Pagès." Paris, 1782, 2 vols 8vo.

and, with the exception of Dampier's voyage to New Holland, her only adventurers in the Pacific were the lawless Buccaneers. To the United Provinces is due the honour of having, during this period, kept up the spirit of investigation, and widely extended the limits of geographical knowledge.

CHAPTER V.

Circumnavigations from the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century to the Reign of George III.

Circumnavigation of Dampier and Funnel, of Woodes Rogers, of Clipperton and Shelvocke, of Roggewein—Easter Island—Pernicious Islands—Circumnavigation of Anson—Objects of the Expedition—Passage of Cape Horn—Severe Sufferings of the Crew—Juan Fernandez—Cruise on the American Coasts—Burning of Payta—Loss of the Gloucester—Tinian—Capture of the Manilla Galleon—Return of the Centurion to England—Fate of the Wager.

THE early part of the eighteenth century was marked by numerous privateering voyages to the South Sea, generally undertaken by English merchants; expeditions which, indeed, served little to advance either maritime science or the reputation of British seamen. The principle which almost invariably regulated them was, "No prizes no pay," and this led to continual disorder and insubordination. The commanders, too frequently, were men of no education, of dissipated habits, and of violent and avaricious dispositions. Altogether, the narrative of these buccaneering adventures is one of the least creditable in the naval annals of our country.

The first of them which we have to notice, was directed by one whom Captain Basil Hall has not unjustly styled "the prince of voyagers,"—William Dampier. This skilful navigator sailed from Kin-

sale in Ireland, on the 11th September 1703, in command of two ships, the St George and the Cinque Ports galley, and entered the South Sea in the beginning of the following year. But even his talents and resolution were unable to preserve order among his boisterous crews, and the history of their proceedings accordingly is an unbroken series of dissension and tumult. On the 19th of May, these disputes had reached such a height that the vessels agreed to part company. The Cinque Ports, which sailed to the southward, was eventually run ashore, and the people taken prisoners by the Spaniards. In September, another quarrel broke out on board the St George, which led to the desertion of the chief mate, John Clipperton, with twenty-one of the seamen. In January 1705, differences again occurred, and the remainder separated into two parties. One of these immediately sailed for the East Indies, and, returning to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope, arrived in the Texel in July 1706: a narrative of their voyage has been left by Funnel. Shortly after this secession, Dampier was forced to abandon the St George, and to embark in a prize which had been taken from the Spaniards. In this he proceeded to the East Indies; but being unable to produce his commission, which had been stolen from him, it is said, by his mate Clipperton, his vessel was seized by the Dutch, and he himself detained some time a prisoner.

In 1708, we again meet this bold seaman as a circumnavigator, in the capacity of pilot to Woodes Rogers, who sailed from Cork on the 1st September, in the command of two ships, fitted out by the merchants of Bristol to cruise against the Spaniards

in the South Sea. In December, the squadron reached the Falkland Islands, and after being driven to the latitude of 62° south in doubling Cape Horn, arrived, in January 1709, at Juan Fernandez, the well-known rendezvous of the Buccaneers. Their visit was the means of restoring to civilized life the celebrated Alexander Selkirk, whose residence on this island upwards of four years became, as has been already hinted, the groundwork of Defoe's romance of Robinson Crusoe. After this nearly a twelvemonth was spent in cruising on the coasts of Peru, Mexico, and California. In January 1710 they sailed across the Pacific, and in March made the Ladrone Islands. They arrived in the Thames on the 14th of October 1711, loaded with a booty which rendered the enterprise highly lucrative to the owners. With this voyage closed the long and chequered life of Dampier; on his return to England he sunk into an obscurity which none of his biographers has yet succeeded in removing.*

The success of this expedition led soon afterwards to another of a similar description. In 1718, the war which was then waged between Spain and the German empire appeared to some "worthy gentlemen of London, and persons of distinction," to afford a favourable opportunity of cruising against the subjects of the former country in the South Sea, under commissions from Charles VI. Accordingly, two ships, the Success of thirty-six guns and the Speedwell of twenty-four, were fitted out in the river Thames.

* For an account of the voyages and circumnavigations in which Dampier bore a part, more full and detailed than was compatible with the plan of the present volume, the reader is referred to "Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier."

To give some colour to the design, their names were changed into the Prince Eugene and the Staremberg; and this latter vessel was despatched to Ostend, under the command of Captain George Shelvocke, to take on board some Flemish officers and seamen, and to receive the commission from the emperor. The conduct of this gentleman, while engaged in these preparations, was by the owners considered imprudent, and, on his return to England, he was superseded in his office of commander-in-chief by Clipperton (who had sailed as mate with Dampier in the St George), though he was allowed to continue in charge of the Staremberg. During the course of these arrangements, Great Britain declared war against Spain: the imperial authority was in consequence laid aside, and the Flemish officers and seamen discharged; the ships recovered their original names, and were manned with English crews.

Thus fitted out, the Success and Speedwell sailed from Plymouth on the 13th February 1719. Six days after, a violent storm arose, and both ships were obliged to pass the night under bare poles. The gale abated on the following evening, when they again proceeded, the former under Clipperton holding a south-easterly direction, while Captain Shelvocke in the latter stood to the north-west,—a difference of course which so effectually disjoined them, "that from that day they never saw each other till they met in the South Seas by mere accident." It will be necessary, therefore, in the notice of this expedition, to give distinct narratives of the proceedings of the two commanders.

When they parted company, the whole stock of wine, brandy, and other liquors, designed for the supply of both ships, was on board the Speedwell; and this circumstance has generally been admitted as evidence in favour of Clipperton, that the separation could not be designed on his part. It is certain that, after losing sight of his consort, he immediately set sail for the Canary Islands, the first rendezvous which had been agreed on in case of losing each other. He arrived there on the 5th March, and, after having waited ten days in vain, set sail for the Cape de Verd Islands, the second place appointed for their meeting. Having cruised here also an equal period, and hearing nothing of Shelvocke, he directed his course for the Straits of Magellan, at the eastern entrance of which he arrived on the 29th May. During this passage several of the seamen died, and much hardship and privation had been experienced; and on the 18th of August, when he reached the South Sea, the crew were in such an enfeebled condition, "that it was simply impossible for them to undertake any thing immediately." In conformity, therefore, with his instructions, which appointed Juan Fernandez as the third rendezvous, Clipperton immediately proceeded thither, and remained about a month, after which he departed for the coast of Peru, which he reached in October. Although he had lost upwards of thirty of his men prior to the time of his quitting the island just named, he was so successful as, in the course of little more than four weeks, to have taken five prizes, some of them of considerable value, besides one which he captured, but which subsequently made her escape. On the 27th of November,

he despatched a vessel to Brazil, loaded with booty valued at more than £10,000; but she never reached her destination, having, there is reason to think, been intercepted by the Spaniards. From this time to the beginning of 1721, he continued to cruise on the American coast with indifferent success. On the 25th January in that year, he met with Shelvocke near the island of Quibo, and, after exchanging a few stores, parted company on the succeeding day. During their stay on the Mexican shore, they again met on four different occasions. On three of these, they passed each other without speaking; and on the fourth, a proposal made by Clipperton, that they should sail in company, met with no success. This took place on the 13th of March; and, four days afterwards, the last-named officer sailed for China. About the middle of May, he made Guahan, one of the Ladrones, his departure from which was hastened by an unfortunate quarrel, which terminated to his disadvantage. On the 2d of July, he arrived in China, when the disputes which ensued regarding the division of plunder were referred to the judgment of the native authorities. These awarded to the proprietors £6000, to the common seamen £97, 15s. 4d. each, and to the captain £1466, 10s. The owners' share was committed to a Portuguese ship, which took fire in the harbour of Rio Janeiro, and not more than £1800 of the property was saved. Clipperton's vessel was sold at Macao, and her crew returned home. The unfortunate commander reached Galway in Ireland, in the beginning of June 1722, where he died within a week after his arrival.

On parting with his consort, Shelvocke contrived so to manage his course that he did not reach the Canaries until the 17th of March, two days after the other had departed. Having remained there more than a week, he proceeded to the Cape de Verd Islands, where he also waited some time for Clipperton. After plundering a Portuguese vessel on the coast of Brazil, he passed Strait Le Maire, and in rounding Cape Horn experienced such tempestuous weather, that he was driven to a high southern latitude. He seems to have been much struck with the bleakness of these cold and steril regions: "We had not," he says, "the sight of one fish of any kind since we were come to the southward of the Streights of Le Maire, nor one sea-bird, except a disconsolate black albatross, which accompanied us for several days, hovering about us as if it had lost itself; till Mr Hatley, observing in one of his melancholy fits that this bird was always hovering near us, imagined from its colour that it might be an ill omen; and so, after some fruitless attempts, at length shot the albatross, not doubting that we should have a fair wind after it."* At

* This incident is believed to have given rise to the late Mr Samuel Taylor Coleridge's wild and beautiful poem of "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner."

"And now there came both mist and snow,
And it grew wond'rous cold,
And ice mast high came floating by,
As green as emerald.
* * * * *
Nor shapes of men nor beasts we ken,
The ice was all between.
* * * * *
At length did cross an albatross,
Thorough the fog it came.
* * * * *

length, about the middle of November, he made the western coast, and on the 30th of the same month anchored at the island of Chiloe. His instructions were, that on entering the South Sea he should immediately proceed to Juan Fernandez; but it was not until the 11th of January 1720 that he repaired thither to inquire about his colleague, who had been there about three months previously. He remained only four days, and then steered towards the shores of Peru, along which he cruised till the beginning of May, capturing several vessels, and burning the town of Payta. On the 11th of the same month he returned to Juan Fernandez, off which, partly for the purposes of watering and partly detained by bad weather, he remained until the 25th, when his ship was driven on shore, and became a wreck. With the loss of one man, the crew succeeded in gaining the land, carrying along with them a few of their stores. Little unanimity subsisted among the seamen; and hence the building of a new vessel in which they were employed proceeded but slowly. It was not until the 5th of October that their rude bark was launched,

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And a good south wind sprung up behind,
The albatross did follow;
And every day for food or play
Came to the mariner's hollo!

In mist or cloud, on mast or shroud
It perch'd for vespers nine.
* * * * *
. . . . . with my cross-bow
I shot the albatross.
* * * * *
Then all averr'd I had kill'd the bird
That brought the fog and mist;
'Twas right, said they, such birds to slay
That bring the fog and mist."

Coleridge's Poetical Works. Lond. 1834, vol. ii. p. 3–5.

which even then was considered so insufficient, that twenty-four of them chose rather to remain on the island than trust themselves to the ocean in such a feeble structure.

On the 6th, Shelvocke and forty-six others put to sea, and stood eastward for the shores of the continent. After two ineffectual attempts on different vessels, he succeeded in capturing a Spanish ship of 200 tons burden, into which he transferred his crew, and abandoned the sloop. Being once more in a condition to commit hostilities, he continued to cruise along the coast, from Chili northward to California, until about the middle of the year 1721. During this period, as has been already mentioned, he met Clipperton, with whom he finally parted towards the end of March. On the 18th of August he sailed from California for China, and on the 21st discovered an island to which his own name was given, though there seems good reason for supposing it to be the same with Roca Partida, one of the Revillagigedo Isles, seen by Spilbergen and other early voyagers.* On the 11th November he reached his destination, and anchored in the river of Canton, where he sold his prize, dividing the plunder which he had acquired among his crew. On this occasion, the able seamen received £440, 7s. 2d. each, and the commander's share amounted to £2642, 10s. He soon afterwards procured a passage to England in an East Indiaman, and landed at Dover on the 30th July 1722. He was arrested, and two prosecutions instituted against him,—the one for piracy, and the other for defrauding his proprietors. Of these, the first was abandoned for want

* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iv. p. 551.

of evidence, and the second was interrupted by his escape from prison and flight from the kingdom. He afterwards succeeded in compounding with the owners, and having returned he published an account of his voyage.

The next circumnavigation was that accomplished by Jacob Roggewein, a Dutchman.* An injunction to prosecute the search for southern lands had, it is said, been laid upon him by his father a short time before his death. This last had, in the year 1669, presented a memorial to the Dutch West India Company, containing a scheme for discovery in the South Sea, and his proposals were so well received, that some vessels were equipped for the purpose; but the disturbances between the United Provinces and Spain put a stop to the project. In 1721, it was renewed by his son, in an application to the same association, which bore a reference to the memorial of his father. It has been insinuated, that the readiness with which the request of Roggewein was conceded, had its origin, less in a desire for the advancement of science than in interested motives. No time, it is certain, was lost in preparing the expedition, which consisted of three vessels, the largest carrying 36 guns, and manned by 111 men. These sailed from the Texel on the 21st August 1721, and in November were off the coast of Brazil, from which

* Two accounts of Roggewein's voyage exist. The first appeared without the author's name at Dort, in 1728, under the title of "Twee Jaarige Reyze rondom de Wereld,"—A Two Years' Voyage round the World. The second, written in German, was printed at Leipsic in 1738;—a French translation was published at the Hague in 1739. This work was written by Charles Frederick Behrens, a native of Mecklenburg, who was sergeant and commander of the troops in Roggewein's fleet. Both accounts have been translated by Mr Dalrymple (Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 85–120), who terminates his valuable work with this voyage.

they " went in quest of the island of Auke's Magdeland (Hawkins' Maiden-land), but could find no such place."* They were equally unsuccessful in another attempt to identify the same island under the different name of St Louis; but on the 21st December they had the good fortune to see one, to which they gave the appellation of Belgia Australis, and in which, though they chose not to perceive it, they only re-discovered the Maiden-land and Isles of St Louis. On the same day, one of the vessels was separated from her consorts in a violent storm. On the 10th March, Roggewein came in sight of the coast of Chili, and on the eighteenth anchored at Juan Fernandez, where he remained three weeks.

On leaving this port he directed his course for Davis' Land, which, like Hawkins' Maiden-land, he failed to trace, or at least affected not to recognise: pretending that he had made a new discovery, he exercised the privilege of a first visiter in bestowing on it a name, that of Paaschen, Oster or Easter Island. While they were sailing along the shore in search of anchorage, a native came off in his canoe, who was kindly treated, and presented with a piece of cloth and a variety of baubles. He was naturally of a dark-brown complexion, but his body was painted all over with figures, and his ears were of a size so unnatural " that they hung down upon his shoulders," occasioned, as the Europeans conjectured, by the use of large and heavy earrings. " A glass of wine," says one of the journals of the voyage, " was given to him; he took it, but instead of drinking it, he threw it in his eyes, which surprised

* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 88.

us very much." He seemed so fascinated with the strangers that it was with difficulty he was prevailed on to depart;—" he looked at them with regret; he held up both his hands towards his native island, and cried out in a very audible and distinct voice, ' Odorroga! odorroga!' "*—exclamations which were supposed to be addressed to his god, from the many idols observed along the coast.

The succeeding day the discoverers anchored close to the island, and were immediately surrounded by many thousands of the inhabitants, some of whom brought with them fowls and provisions, while others " remained on the shore, running to and fro from one place to another like wild beasts." They were also observed to make fires at the feet of their idols, as if to offer up their prayers and sacrifices before them. On the following day, as the Hollanders were preparing to land, the savages were seen to prostrate themselves with their faces towards the rising sun, and to light many fires, apparently to present burnt-offerings to their divinities. Several of them went on board the ship, among whom one man quite white was conjectured, from his devout and solemn gestures, to be a priest, and was distinguished by wearing white earrings of a round shape and of size equal to a man's fist. The sailors, upon returning this visit, commenced an attack, apparently unprovoked, on the natives, and by a heavy slaughter taught them the deadly efficacy of the musket. They are described as having " made the most surprising motions and gestures in the world, and viewed their fallen companions with the

* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.

utmost astonishment, wondering at the wounds the bullets had made in their bodies." Though dismayed, they again rallied and advanced to within ten paces of their enemies, under an impression of safety, which a second discharge of fire-arms too fatally dissipated. Among those who fell was the individual that first came on board,—a circumstance, says the journalist, "which chagrined us much." Shortly after, the vanquished returned and endeavoured to redeem the dead bodies of their countrymen. They approached in procession, carrying palm-branches and a sort of red and white flag, and uttering doleful cries and sounds of lamentation; they then threw themselves on their knees, tendered their presents of plantains, nuts, roots, and fowls, and sought, by the most earnest and humble attitudes, to deprecate the wrath of the strangers. The historian represents his companions as so affected with all these demonstrations of humility and submission, that they made the islanders a present "of a whole piece of painted cloth, fifty or sixty yards long, beads, small looking-glasses, &c." They returned to their ships in the evening with the intention to revisit the island on the succeeding day; but this design was frustrated by a storm, which drove them from their anchors and obliged them to stand out into the open sea.

The inhabitants of Easter Island are described as being of a well-proportioned stature, though rather slender, of complexions generally brown, but, in some instances, of European whiteness. They delineate on their bodies figures of birds and other animals; and a great proportion of the females were "painted with a rouge, very bright, which much surpasses that known to us;" and had dresses of red.

Woman of Easter Island.

and white cloth, soft to the touch like silk, with a small hat made of straw or rushes. They were generally of a mild disposition, with a soft and pleasing expression of countenance, and so timid, that when they brought presents to the voyagers, they threw the gift at their feet and made a precipitate retreat. Their ears, as already noticed, were so elongated as to hang down to their shoulders, and were sometimes ornamented with large white rings of a globular form. Their huts were about fifty feet long and seven broad, built of a number of poles cemented with a fat earth or clay, and covered with the leaves of the palm-tree. They had earthen vessels

for preparing their victuals, but possessed few other articles of furniture. No arms were perceived among them, and their sole defence from the cruel hostilities of their visiters appeared to be reposed in their idols. These were gigantic pillars of stone, having on the top the figure of a human head adorned with a crown or garland, formed of small stones inlaid with considerable skill. The names of two of these idols have been preserved,—Taurico and Dago; and the Hollanders thought they perceived indications of a priesthood, the members of which were distinguished by their ponderous earrings, by having their heads shaven, and by wearing a bonnet of black and white feathers. The food of the inhabitants consisted entirely of the fruits of their land, which was carefully cultivated and divided into enclosures. No traces were found of a supreme chief or ruler, nor was any distinction of ranks observed, except that the aged bore staves, and had plumes on their heads, and that in families the oldest member appeared to exercise authority. It would be improper to pass without notice the fabulous account of the immense stature of the natives, given, in one of the accounts of the voyage, with the strongest protestations of its truth: —"All these savages are of more than gigantic size; for the men, being twice as tall and thick as the largest of our people, they measured, one with another, the height of twelve feet, so that we could easily—who will not wonder at it!—without stooping, have passed betwixt the legs of these sons of Goliah. According to their height, so is their thickness, and all are, one with another, very well proportioned, so that each could have passed for a Her-

cules." It is added, that the females do not altogether come up to these formidable dimensions, "being commonly not above ten or eleven feet!"*

From Easter Island the Dutchman pursued a course nearly north-west, and about the middle of May came in sight of an island, to which he gave the name of Carls-hoff, which it still retains. After leaving this, one of his vessels suddenly ran aground and was wrecked, on a cluster of low islands, which he distinguished by the epithet of Schaadelyk or Pernicious. These are generally supposed to be identical with Palliser's Islands; and modern voyagers seem to have observed in the vicinity traces of Roggewein's visit and shipwreck.† Among these he sailed five days, and on the 25th May discovered two small ones, probably the Bottomless and Fly Island of Schouten and Le Maire.‡ A few days later, he perceived a group, to which he gave the appellation of Irrigen or the Labyrinth; and, continuing in the same westerly course, on the 1st of June reached an island which he denominated Verquikking or Recreation, and which is supposed to be Uliatea, one of the Society cluster,—a conjecture rendered more probable by the tradition prevalent among the natives, of their having been visited by Europeans. The navigators found their landing opposed by the inhabitants, who were armed

* Dalrymple, vol. ii. p. 113. "I doubt not," adds the journalist, "but most people who read this voyage will give no credit to what I now relate, and that this account of the height of these giants will probably pass with them for a mere fable or fiction; but this I declare, that I have put down nothing but the real truth, and that this people, upon the nicest inspection, were in fact of such a surpassing height as I have here described."

† Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iv. p. 570.

‡ See above, pp. 122, 123.

with pikes, and who did not withdraw their opposition until they were overpowered by fire-arms. On the succeeding day another conflict ensued, when the event was different; the invaders were obliged to retreat, after having some of their men killed and many severely wounded. The people are described as robust and tall, their hair long and black, their bodies painted, and their dress consisting of a kind of network round the waist.

Shortly after quitting Recreation Island, it was determined in a general council of officers, that to sail back by the course which they had traversed was impossible, and that they were therefore under the necessity of going home by the East Indies. In accordance with this resolution, they continued to steer westward, and on the 15th of June reached a cluster of islands, which they called Bauman, supposed to be the Navigators' Isles of the present maps. From this point the track of Roggewein coincided too closely with that of Schouten and other discoverers, to offer much of novelty or interest; nor has this part of his voyage been very clearly narrated. The scurvy broke out among his crew and committed frightful ravages: "There was nothing," says a journalist of the voyage, "to be seen on board, but sick people struggling with inexpressible pains, and dead carcasses that were just released from them, and from which arose so intolerable a smell, that such as yet remained sound were not able to endure, but frequently swooned with it. Cries and groans were perpetually ringing in their ears, and the very sight of the people moving about was sufficient to excite at once terror and compassion." In the month of September, he arrived at Java, with

the loss of not fewer than seventy men by sickness, besides those killed in his conflicts with the islanders; and in October proceeded to Batavia, where his ships were arrested by the Dutch East India Company, condemned, and sold by public auction. The crews were sent home free of expense, and landed at Amsterdam on the 28th July, "the very same day two years that they sailed on this voyage." Against these proceedings, the West India Company sought redress in an appeal to the States General, who ordained the East India Company to make full compensation for the vessels,—a decision which, when the judgment in the more favourable case of Schouten and Le Maire is considered, it may be not uncandid to suppose, proceeded more from the superior influence of the appellants than from the array of legal arguments on their side. After the voyage of Roggewein, twenty years passed without witnessing one expedition to the Pacific of the slightest importance.

When war broke out between this country and the Spaniards in 1739, among other measures adopted by the British administration, it was resolved to send an armament into the South Seas to attack their trade and settlements in that part of the world, in the hope of cutting off the supplies which they derived from their colonies. The original plan of this expedition was as magnificent as the actual equipment of it was mean. It was intended that two squadrons should be despatched, the one to proceed directly by the Cape of Good Hope to Manilla, in the Philippines; the other to double Cape Horn, and, after cruising along the western coast of South America, to join the former, when both were to act in concert. But of

this romantic scheme only one-half was put in execution; and that, too, in a spirit of petty economy quite inconsistent with the success of the enterprise. The attack on Manilla was abandoned, and the design limited to the fitting out of a few ships to cruise in the South Seas, under the command of Captain George Anson.

This officer received his commission early in January 1740; but so tardy were the proceedings of the government, that his instructions were not delivered to him until the end of June; and when in virtue of these he repaired to his squadron, in the expectation of being able to sail with the first fair wind, he found that he had to encounter difficulties which detained him nearly three months longer. Three hundred able seamen were wanting to complete the crews; and in place of these, Commodore Anson, after a tedious delay, was able to obtain only 170 men, of whom thirty-two were drafted from sick-rooms and hospitals, ninety-eight were marines, and three were infantry officers; the remainder, amounting to thirty-seven, were regular sailors. It was part of the original plan to furnish the squadron with an entire regiment, and three Independent companies of 100 men each; but this design was laid aside, and the ships were ordered to be supplied with 500 invalids collected from the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital. These consisted of such soldiers as, from their age, wounds, or other infirmities, were incapable of serving; and Anson remonstrated against the absurdity of sending them on an expedition of so great length, and which must be attended by so many hardships and privations; but his representations, though supported by those of Sir

Charles Wager, only drew forth the answer, "that persons who were supposed to be better judges of soldiers than he or Mr Anson, thought them the properest men that could be employed on this occasion."* This admitted of no reply, and the veterans were accordingly ordered on board the squadron. Instead, however, of 500, there appeared no more than 259; for all who were able to walk away had deserted, leaving behind them only the very dregs of their corps, men for the most part sixty years of age, and some of them upwards of seventy. The embarkation of these aged warriors is described as having been singularly affecting. Their reluctance to the service was visible in their countenances, on which were seen also apprehension of the dangers they were to encounter, and indignation at being thus

* "A Voyage round the World in the years 1740-1-2-3-4, by George Anson, Esq. Commander-in-Chief of a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships sent upon an Expedition to the South Seas. Compiled from Papers and other Materials of the Right Honourable George Lord Anson, and published under his Direction. By Richard Walter, M. A., Chaplain of his Majesty's Ship the Centurion. London, 1748," 4to, p. 6. This is the principal authority for the circumnavigation of Anson, and has ever been popular and highly admired for the beauty of the narrative and vividness of the descriptions. In this last point, indeed, there is reason to fear that accuracy is sacrificed to effect. An attempt was made to deprive Walter of the honour of this work, which is attributed to Benjamin Robins, F. R. S., author of Mathematical Tracts, London, 1761, 2 vols 8vo, and other works. This question has been amply discussed; but there appears no decisive evidence of Robins' claim. Those who are anxious to enter into the discussion may be referred to the preface, by James Wilson, to the Mathematical Tracts above mentioned; to Nichol's Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century, vol. ii. p. 206; to the Biographia Britannica, *voce* Anson; and to the Corrigenda and Addenda to that article inserted in the 4th volume of the work. Besides Walter's narrative, there appeared "A True and Impartial Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, and round the Globe, in his Majesty's Ship the Centurion, under the Command of Commodore George Anson. By Pascoe Thomas, Teacher of the Mathematics on board the Centurion. London, 1745," 8vo.

dragged into an enterprise which they could noways assist, and in which, after having spent their youthful vigour in the service of their country, they were too probably doomed to perish. To expose the cruelty of this measure, it need only be stated, that not one of these unhappy men who reached the South Sea lived to return to his native shores.* To supply the room of the 241 invalids who had deserted, raw and undisciplined marines, amounting to nearly the same number, were selected from different ships and sent on board; upon which the squadron sailed from Spithead to St Helens, to await a favourable wind. It consisted of eight vessels, the Centurion of sixty guns; the Gloucester and the Severn of fifty each; the Pearl of forty; the Wager of twenty-eight;† the Tryal sloop of eight; and two store-ships; and, exclusive of the crews of these last, contained about 2000 men. After being thrice forced back by adverse winds, they finally sailed from St Helens on the 18th September 1740; and, having touched at Madeira, anchored on the 18th December at the island of Santa Catalina, on the coast of Brazil, where they remained about a month.

They arrived at Port San Julian in the middle of February 1741; and on the 7th March entered Strait Le Maire, where, though winter was advancing apace, they experienced a brightness of sky and serenity of weather which inspired them with high hopes that the greatest difficulties of their voyage were past. "Thus animated by these delusions," says Mr Walter, "we traversed these memorable straits, igno-

* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. v. p. 40.
† According to Thomas (p. 2) the Wager carried but 20 guns.

rant of the dreadful calamities that were then impending and just ready to burst upon us; ignorant that the time drew near when the squadron would be separated never to unite again, and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy."* The last of the ships had scarcely cleared the straits, when the sky suddenly changed, and exhibited all the appearances of an approaching storm, which soon burst with such violence, that two of them with difficulty escaped being run ashore on Staten Land. From this time to the 25th May, the expedition encountered a succession of the most tempestuous weather. The oldest mariners confessed that the fury of the winds and the mountainous waves surpassed anything they had ever witnessed. "Our ship," says Thomas, who sailed in the Centurion, "was nothing to them; but, notwithstanding her large bulk and deep hold in the water, was tossed and bandied as if she had been no more than a little pitiful wherry."† The sails were frequently split in tatters, and blown from the yards; the yards themselves were often snapped across; and the shrouds and other rigging were repeatedly blown to pieces. The upper-works were rendered so loose as to admit water at every seam; the beds were almost continually wet, and the men were often driven from them by the rushing in of the waves. The rolling of the vessel was so great, that the seamen were in danger of being dashed to pieces against her decks or sides; they were often forced from the objects they had taken hold of to secure themselves from falling, and, in spite of every precaution, met numerous accidents; one had his neck dislocated,

* Walter, p. 75. † Thomas, p. 21.

another, who was pitched below, had his thigh fractured, and a boatswain's mate had his collar-bone twice seriously injured. To add to their misery, the scurvy broke out with great violence; at first carrying off two or three a-day, but increasing in virulence till the mortality amounted to eight or ten. Few of the crew escaped its attacks, and on these the labour of managing the ship fell so heavily, "that," says Thomas, "I have on that account seen four or five dead bodies at a time, some sewn up in their hammocks, and others not, washing about the decks, for want of help to bury them in the sea."* The disease at last attained such a height that we are informed there were not above twelve or fourteen men, and a few officers, capable of doing duty. On the invalids, who had been so cruelly sent on this expedition, the disease produced the most extraordinary effects; wounds which had been healed many years now opened, and appeared as if they had never been closed, and fractures of bones which had been long consolidated now again appeared, as if the callus of the broken bone had been dissolved by the disease. The wounds of one aged veteran, which had been received more than fifty years previous, at the battle of the Boyne, broke out afresh, and seemed as if they had never been healed.† At length, after a period of intense suffering, on the morning of the 8th of May, the crew of Anson's own ship, the Centurion, saw the western coast of Patagonia, the high mountains of which were for the most part covered with snow. The island of Nuestra Senora del Socorro, which had been appointed as the rendezvous of the fleet, was also visible; but, from the

* Thomas, p. 22. † Walter, p. 102.

weak condition of his crew, the commodore waited here two days, when he set sail for Juan Fernandez, abandoning the design which had been formed of attacking Baldivia. Short as was Anson's delay on this occasion, he has been severely censured for it by Thomas, who declares,—"I verily believe that our touching on this coast, the small stay we made here, and our hinderance by cross winds, which we should have avoided in a direct course to Juan Fernandez, lost us at least sixty or seventy of as stout and able men as any in the navy."* It was not until daybreak of the 9th of June that they descried the island now named, which, notwithstanding its rugged and mountainous aspect, says Walter, "was to us a most agreeable sight." An anecdote which has been preserved by Dr Beattie may perhaps present a livelier idea of the distress endured than a lengthened description: "One who was on board the Centurion in Lord Anson's voyage, having got some money in that expedition, purchased a small estate about three miles from this town (Aberdeen). I have had several conversations with him on the subject of the voyage, and once asked him whether he had ever read the history of it. He told me he had read all the history, except the description of their sufferings during the run from Cape Horn to Juan Fernandez, which he said were so great that he durst not recollect or think of them."†

On the succeeding day they coasted along the shore, at about the distance of two miles, in search of an anchorage. The mountains, which at first

* Thomas, p. 27.
† Sir William Forbes' Life of Beattie, vol. ii. p. 36.

view had appeared bare and steril, they now perceived to be covered with luxuriant woods, and between them they could see fertile valleys of the freshest verdure, watered by clear streams, frequently broken into waterfalls. "Those only," says Walter, "who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near 100 feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that was left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect."* The succeeding day, the Centurion anchored on the north-eastern side of the island; in the passage from Brazil 200 of her men having died, and 130 of the remainder being on the sick-list. No time was lost in erecting tents and conveying the sick on shore,—a labour in which Anson assisted in person, and exacted the aid of his officers. He continued here some months, to recruit the health of his crew, and to wait the arrival of the rest of the squadron. Of the seven vessels which accompanied him from England only three, the Gloucester, the Tryal sloop, and the Anna storeship, succeeded in reaching Juan Fernandez. The Industry had been dismissed on the coast of Brazil, while the Severn and Pearl, which had separated from the commodore in the passage round Cape

* Walter, p. 111.

Horn, returned homewards without having entered the South Seas. The Wager, the only remaining one, reached the western coast of Patagonia, where she experienced disasters and sufferings which will be hereafter noticed. Before leaving Juan Fernandez the Anna was broken up, and her crew distributed among the other vessels, which stood much in need of this aid; for, since leaving St Helens, the Centurion had lost 292 men out of her complement of 506; in the Gloucester there remained only 82 out of 374; and in the Tryal, out of 81 there survived but 39.* In short, of upwards of 900 persons who had left England on board these three vessels, more than 600 were dead.

On the 8th of September, while the expedition was still at anchor, a strange sail was discovered and chased, and though she escaped, the English, during the pursuit, were fortunate enough to capture another, which proved to be a rich merchantman, bound from Callao to Valparaiso, and having on board dollars and plate to the amount of about £18,000 sterling. Intelligence was obtained from this prize, that there were several such vessels on their voyage from Callao to Valparaiso, and, accordingly, no time was lost in despatching the Tryal sloop to cruise off the latter port. In a few days the Centurion sailed, along with the captured ship, to

* These statements are made as the nearest approach to accuracy which is now attainable. The numbers of the crews are so loosely mentioned, that, according to Walter, in one place (p. 14) the Tryal had 100 men, and in another (p. 160) only 81. With him the men on board the Centurion are at one time 525, and at another (p. 159) 506; and Pascoe Thomas rates them in different places (p. 42) 518, 512, and (Appendix, p. 8) 510. The latter author makes the number alive in the Gloucester considerably higher than Walter. "We found," he says, "in a miserable condition, *not many above one hundred people alive.*"—P. 31.

join the Tryal, leaving the Gloucester at Juan Fernandez, with orders to proceed to Payta, and cruise there until reinforced by the others. When the commodore fell in with the sloop, he found that she had taken a prize; but, being herself in a shattered condition, she was sunk, and her crew transferred to the foreigner, which was now commissioned under the name of the Tryal's Prize. Having disposed his fleet so as best to command the different cities and their trade, Anson continued to cruise along the coasts of Chili and Peru, until nearly the middle of November, when, from information he obtained from a vessel which he had captured, he determined to make an attempt on Payta. Fifty-eight men* were selected for this purpose, who embarked in three boats, and rowed for the harbour, which they had just entered when they were discovered by a ship's crew, who manned their barges, and pulled towards the town shouting, "The English! the English dogs!" In a few minutes, the hurrying of lights to and fro, and other signs of preparation, gave notice that the inhabitants were alarmed, and before the assailants could reach the landing-place a cannon-ball from the fort whistled over their heads. But ere a second discharge could take place the seamen had landed, and, forming into a body, marched in the direction of the governor's house. The noise of the drums which they carried, "the shouts and clamours of threescore sailors confined so long on shipboard, and now for the first time on shore in an enemy's country, joyous, as they

* According to Thomas (p. 55) there were only forty-nine; and this is confirmed by the description of the "plan of Payta," which accompanies Walter's voyage, p. 189.

always are when they land, and animated in the present case with the hopes of an immense pillage," joined to the sudden nature of the attack and the darkness of the night, struck such a panic into the inhabitants, that in less than a quarter of an hour, and with the loss of one killed and two wounded, the assailants were masters of the town, the governor fleeing from it half naked and with such precipitation that he most ungallantly left behind him his lady, to whom he had been but three or four days married, and who afterwards made her escape "with no other clothes to cover her but her shift."* Two days were occupied in conveying the plunder to the vessels; and this being effected the town was set on fire, and, with the exception of two churches, burned to the ground; and, of the six ships in the bay five having been sunk† and one carried off, "we weighed and came to sea," says Thomas, "with all our prizes, being six sail, and left this place entirely ruined." The value of the silver coin and plate taken in Payta was reported to exceed £30,000,‡

* Thomas, p. 56. Walter, p. 194. From a note in Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. v. p. 57, we learn that this lady was alive in 1791, and acknowledged to an English seaman "the liberal conduct observed towards prisoners in Commodore Anson's expedition."

† Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. v. p. 58, states that the five ships were burned; but both Walter (p. 202) and Thomas (p. 63) mention their being sunk. Indeed, one of the illustrations in Walter's voyage (plate 24, p. 201) represents the vessels in the act of going down.

‡ This is probably above the truth. Mr Thomas gives a specific account of the number of ounces of bullion captured, and of their value, by which he "makes the whole amount £24,415, 16s. 4d." He adds, however, as a reason for his estimating the value at about £32,000, that though "I know not certainly whether there was any thing in specie farther in this capture, yet I know that *it was generally esteemed* to be near £32,000 sterling" (Appendix, p. 4). The exaggerating effects of a common rumour like this are too well known to be valued as of any high authority.

and to this there were to be added rings, gold watches, and jewels, besides what pillage fell into the hands of the individuals engaged in the attack. Walter mentions a report, that the inhabitants, in their representations to the Spanish court, estimated their loss at a million and a half of dollars. Two days after this exploit, Anson was joined by the Gloucester, which he found had also captured several prizes, having on board bullion to the amount of about £18,000.

It was now resolved to cruise off Cape San Lucas or Cape Corrientes for the Manilla galleon, and the squadron accordingly sailed in that direction. On the 5th December, they anchored at the island of Quibo, where they took in a supply of water, and remained about three days, when they resumed their voyage to the northwards. A succession of unfavourable weather rendered their progress so extremely slow, that they did not make the Mexican coast, a little to the north-west of Acapulco, till the end of January. This was past the usual time of the galleon's appearance; but Anson continued to sail along the coast in hopes of intercepting her till a late period in February, when he received information that she had arrived the previous month, about twenty days before he had reached the coast. This intelligence, however, was accompanied with the more gratifying information, that she was to leave Acapulco to return to Manilla in the beginning of March, and with a cargo infinitely more valuable than that which she had brought from the Philippines. The cruise was therefore continued, and with increased strictness, every precaution being taken, and the most scrupulous vigilance

observed, until long after the period fixed for her sailing, when the search was abandoned on the supposition, which afterwards proved to be correct, that her departure was delayed for that year, on account of the English fleet.

Thus disappointed, Anson formed the resolution of attacking Acapulco, and by that means possessing himself of the object of his wishes; but this plan fell to the ground, and, leaving his cutter to watch the Manilla ship, he sailed for the harbour of Chequetan, about thirty leagues westward, to obtain a supply of water. During his stay there, the different vessels which had been captured were destroyed; and it was resolved that the squadron, which now consisted of only two ships, the Centurion and Gloucester, should quit the South Seas and sail for China. Various accidents, however, contributed to postpone their departure, and it was not until the 6th of May that they lost sight of the mountains of Mexico. They experienced much difficulty in getting into the track of the trade-winds, which they expected to reach in a few days, but did not meet until seven or eight weeks after leaving the coast. This disappointment pressed on them the more severely, owing to the crazy condition into which their ships had now fallen, more particularly the Gloucester, which sailed very heavily. The scurvy, too, again made its appearance, and raged with a violence little less fatal than that which had marked its attacks in the passage round Cape Horn. Though the trade-wind had constantly favoured them from the end of June to the latter part of July, their progress, owing to the distressed condition of the crews, had been so very slow, that by their

reckoning they were still 300 leagues from the Ladrones. At this time they met with a westerly breeze, succeeded by a violent storm, which so damaged the Gloucester as to render her abandonment necessary. Two days were employed in removing her crew and part of her stores on board the Centurion; and, on the 15th of August, she was set on fire, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Spaniards, to whom the valuable prize-goods on board would have rendered her a welcome acquisition. "She burned," says Walter, "very fiercely the whole night, her guns firing successively as the flames reached them; and it was six in the morning, when we were about four leagues distant, before she blew up; the report she made upon this occasion was but a small one, but there was an exceeding black pillar of smoke, which shot up into the air to a very considerable height."* Though re-enforced by the additional crew, Anson had still to struggle with difficulty and distress. The late storm had drifted him from his course; there was a leak in his vessel which it was found impossible to stop; and the scurvy raged with such violence, that no day passed in which he did not lose eight or ten, and sometimes twelve of the ship's company.

At length, at daybreak of the 23d, two islands were discovered to the westward,—"a sight which," says Walter, "gave us all great joy, and raised our drooping spirits; for before this a universal dejection had seized us, and we almost despaired of ever seeing land again." These proved to be two of the Ladrones; but the exhausted seamen remained in sight of them three days without being able to come to

* Walter, p. 300.

an anchor. On the 26th three others were discovered, and the ship's course was directed towards the one in the centre, which was ascertained to be the island of Tinian. They moored here on the evening of the 28th, and the next day proceeded to land their sick,—a labour in which Anson here, as at Juan Fernandez, personally assisted. The accounts which the journalists have left us of this island represent it in the most favourable colours; they dwell on its sunny slopes and gentle declivities,—the beauty of its lawns,—the luxuriance of its flowers and vegetation,—the grandeur of its forests, and the richness and variety of its fruit-trees. "The fortunate animals, too," it is added, "which for the greatest part of the year are the sole lords of this happy soil, partake in some measure of the romantic cast of the island, and are no small addition to its wonderful scenery; for the cattle, of which it is not uncommon to see herds of some thousands feeding together in a large meadow, are certainly the most remarkable in the world; for they are all of them milk-white, except their ears, which are generally black. And though there are no inhabitants here, yet the clamour and frequent parading of domestic poultry, which range the woods in great numbers, perpetually excite the ideas of the neighbourhood of farms and villages, and greatly contribute to the cheerfulness and beauty of the place."*

* Walter, p. 309. After the lapse of nearly a century, a memorial of Anson's sojourn at Tinian has been lately brought to light. By the Nautical Magazine for July 1834 (vol. iii. p. 429), it appears that "a whaler lately, on weighing her anchor at the island of Tinian, hooked up the anchor of the Centurion of 64 guns, which was lost by that ship in the year 1742, when Commodore Anson touched there to refresh his crew. It was comparatively little corroded, having on a thick coat of rust; the wooden stock was completely rotted off."

At this pleasant island Anson remained until the 21st of October, when, the health of his crew having been restored and the vessel supplied with fresh provisions, he set sail for Macao in China, where he arrived on the 12th of November. The five months which he passed here were employed in refitting his shattered ship and still farther confirming the health of his men. He added also to their number some Lascars and Dutch, and was once more in a condition to resume hostilities.

On leaving Macao, he gave out that he was bound for Batavia, on his homeward voyage for England; but his real design was very different. From the sailing of the Manilla galleon of the previous year having been prevented by his appearance off Acapulco, he calculated that this season there would be two; and he resolved to cruise off the island of Samal, in the hope of intercepting so rich a prize. This design he had entertained ever since he left the coast of Mexico, but had prudently abstained from revealing it. When his ship, however, was once fairly at sea, he summoned the whole crew on deck, and informed them of his intentions. In allusion to some absurd fables which prevailed regarding the strength of the Manilla ships, and their being impenetrable to cannon-shot, he said he trusted there were none present so weak as to believe such a ridiculous fiction; "for his own part, he did assure them upon his word, that whenever he met with them, he would fight them so near, that they should find his bullets, instead of being stopped by one of their sides, should go through them both."*

* Walter, p. 371.

The station on which Anson had determined to cruise was the Cape Espiritu Santo, part of the island of Samal, and he arrived there on the 20th of May. After a month spent in the greatest impatience and anxiety, a general joy was diffused among the crew by the sight of a sail at sunrise of the 20th June. They instantly stood towards it, and by mid-day were within a league's distance,—the galleon, to their surprise, continuing in her course, and bearing down upon them. The fight was commenced by Anson, who, in order to embarrass the Spaniards, whom he observed busy in clearing their decks, gave directions to fire, though his previous orders had been not to engage till within pistol-shot. Immediately after he took up an advantageous position, by which he was able to traverse the most of his guns on the enemy, who could only bring part of theirs to bear. At the commencement of the battle, part of the netting and mats of the galleon took fire; but, upon being extinguished, the fight continued with unabated determination. Symptoms of disorder, however, were soon observed on board the merchantman; their general, "who was the life of the action," was disabled, and the men could hardly be prevailed on to remain at their posts. Their last effort was marked by the discharge of five or six guns with more skill than usual; when, as a signal that the contest was abandoned, the standard of Spain was struck from the mast-head,—the ship's colours having been burned in the engagement. The treasure in specie found on board the prize has been estimated at upwards of £300,000 sterling. Anson at the same time learned that the other had set sail much earlier than usual, and was

most probably moored in the port of Manilla long before he had reached Samal.

As nothing was now to be gained by remaining among the Philippines, he at once set sail for the river of Canton, where he arrived about the middle of July, and remained until the beginning of December. The homeward passage was not attended with any remarkable event, and on the 15th June 1744, after an absence of three years and nine months, the Centurion anchored at Spithead. General joy was diffused through the nation by the return of the expedition, diminished though it was both in men and ships; and the treasure taken from the galleon was carried through the streets to the Tower in thirty-two waggons, in the same manner as the silver taken by Blake.

The distress which was experienced on board this squadron is to be ascribed solely to the ill-judged measures which were adopted in its equipment; while the unflinching perseverance and courage displayed by the seamen, and the intrepidity and prudence of the commander, are worthy of a place in the brightest page of the naval annals of our country.*

* A curious illustration of the high opinion entertained of the conduct of Anson's expedition will be found in the "Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the United States frigate Essex, in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814. 2 vols 8vo. Philadelphia, 1815." Captain Porter informs us, that the fame of Anson served only to "rouse his ambition," and as an incentive "to make the name of the Essex as well known in the Pacific Ocean as that of the Centurion;" and he gives it as his opinion, that "the voyage of the Essex ought not to yield the palm to those of Anson and Cook." The gallant captain, his vessel, and all her prizes but one, were captured by a British frigate of inferior force; yet he cannot refrain from summing up his fancied triumph

The disastrous fate of the Wager, one of the ships which put to sea under Lord Anson, has been already alluded to. In addition to the sufferings endured by the rest of the fleet in their stormy passage round Cape Horn, her crew were dispirited by evil omens and superstitious fears. The captain who commanded them when they left England died ere they reached the Straits of Le Maire, and it was currently rumoured, both among officers and seamen, that shortly before his death he had predicted, "that this voyage, which both officers and sailors had engaged in with so much cheerfulness and alacrity, would prove, in the end, very far from their expectations, notwithstanding the vast treasure they imagined to gain by it; that it would end in poverty, vermin, famine, death, and destruction."* These gloomy forebodings appear to have deeply impressed all on board,—more especially as the defective equipment of the vessel rendered their fulfilment too probable. She was separated from the squadron in the end of April; upon which Captain Cheap, in obedience to his orders, immediately proceeded to search for the appointed rendezvous,—the Isle of Socorro.

On the 14th of May, it was discovered that the vessel was driving right on shore, and though her course was instantly altered and every precaution used, the next morning at daybreak she struck on a hidden rock, and grounded between two small

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over Anson by the reproach that "he had no trophies of his success to exhibit!"

* A Voyage to the South Seas, in the years 1740-1. By John Bulkely and John Cummins, late gunner and carpenter of the Wager. Second edition. London, 1757, p. 5.

islands about a gunshot from the beach. The scene which ensued was of the most revolting nature, and the description which has been left of it by the Honourable John Byron, then a midshipman on board, is, perhaps, little inferior in real horror and sublimity to the most imaginative conceptions of his noble grandson.* The ship held together for a considerable period, and the whole crew might have got to the land in safety, had not many, in the phrensy of despair and intoxication, obstinately refused to quit her.

Among the miserable beings who reached the shore, heart-burnings and dissensions speedily appeared; and the history of their abode on this desolate coast is one wearisome succession of insubordination, discord, and crime. After five months thus consumed, during which, out of about 140† who

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* Narrative of the Hon. John Byron, being an account of the Shipwreck of the Wager, and the subsequent adventures of her Crew. Written by Himself. The editor of the late edition of Byron's works, in tracing the poet's imitations, appears to have overlooked a passage in the Narrative which may have suggested the lines—

"Then shriek'd the timid, and stood still the brave,—
Then some leap'd overboard with dreadful yell,
As eager to anticipate their grave."
Don Juan, canto ii. st. 52.

The following sentence occurs in Commodore Byron's Narrative:—"So terrible was the scene of foaming breakers around us, that one of the bravest men we had could not help expressing his dismay at it, saying it was too shocking a sight to bear, *and would have thrown himself over the rails of the quarter-deck into the sea* had he not been prevented."—Second edition, p. 12.

† These numbers are stated as the nearest approximation to the truth which can be made. The different narratives give very contradictory accounts of the numbers. Burney (Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. v. p. 91) makes the number on board at the date of the shipwreck 130, and states (vol. v. p. 101) that at 24th June forty-five had died and seven deserted, which reduces the whole at that

were shipwrecked, no fewer than fifty died, the long-boat was at last converted into a schooner; and on board of her and the ship's cutter, seventy-one of the survivors departed, in order to proceed to Brazil by the Straits of Magellan. Thirty survived to reach Rio Grande, about the end of January 1742; nineteen were abandoned to their fate on different parts of the coast, only three of whom survived to reach Europe; and twenty-two perished, chiefly through hunger and fatigue. Among the twenty who remained on the coast where the Wager was wrecked was the captain, who had been made prisoner by part of his crew, and was left there at his own desire. Cheap and his unfortunate companions determined to proceed northwards in the barge and yawl, which had been left to them. The hardships they experienced made frightful havock among their little band; only six of whom, after a series of almost unparalleled sufferings, arrived at the island of Chiloe.*

The melancholy fate of the Wager led to an important alteration in the laws of our naval service. Much of the crime and misery was justly attributed to the circumstance that the pay of a ship's company ceased immediately upon her wreck; and a rule was in consequence established "that, in future,

time to seventy-eight. Yet afterwards (vol. v. p. 106), he states that in October the number remaining, including the seven deserters, was ninety-two. Bulkely makes the number shipwrecked 152. Byron rates them at 145.

* Captain King, in the course of the survey which he made of the southern extremity of the American continent in the years 1826-7-8-9-30, discovered, near the west end of the easternmost of the Guaineco Islands, the beam of a vessel, which there is reason to believe was a relic of the unfortunate Wager. From this circumstance, he bestowed upon the island the name of that ship.—Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. i. p. 159.

every person entering into the service of his majesty's navy should be held attached to that service, and be entitled to the pay, maintenance, or emoluments belonging to his station, until such time as he should be regularly discharged by an order of the Admiralty or of his superior officer."*

* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. pp. 127, 128. We have now to take leave of this valuable and important work, and cannot do so without an acknowledgment of the great assistance which it has afforded us.

CHAPTER VI.

Circumnavigations of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret.

Voyage of Byron—Its Objects—Vain Search for Pepys' Island—Discovery of the Islands of Disappointment, King George, Prince of Wales, Danger, and Duke of York—Circumnavigations of Wallis and Carteret—Their Separation—Wallis discovers the Islands of Whitsunday, Queen Charlotte, Egmont, Cumberland, and Osnaburg—Arrives at Otaheite—Transactions there—Sails for Tinian—Carteret discovers Pitcairn's Island—Santa Cruz or Queen Charlotte's Islands—The Solomons—St George's Channel and New Ireland—New Hanover—Arrives at Spithead.

ENGLAND had hitherto held only a secondary place in the annals of maritime enterprise. Spain and Portugal, which first occupied the field, had achieved the great discoveries of the American continent, the Pacific Ocean, and the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope. At the end of the sixteenth century, the empire of the deep passed to Holland. After a short and brilliant career, the spirit of adventure began to languish, and continued nearly 100 years almost entirely dormant, when it again broke forth in Britain with a strength and lustre which have procured for our country, as the liberal promoter of geographical science, an equal, if not superior rank to any nation of ancient or of modern times.

We have now arrived at the reign of George III., —a period which will ever be memorable for the value and extent of its discoveries, effected, as has been

justly remarked, "not with a view to the acquisition of treasure, or the extent of dominion, but the improvement of commerce and the increase and diffusion of knowledge." The love of science, and the geographical learning which the young monarch himself possessed, secured a favourable hearing to every undertaking for exploring new lands; and the design which for this purpose he had formed immediately after his accession, he proceeded to put in execution so soon as the peace of 1763 left his mind free from the cares of war. The views which were entertained in the equipment of his first expedition are briefly expressed in the instructions delivered to the commodore,—a document which deserves to be quoted for its elevated sentiments:—"Whereas nothing can redound more to the honour of this nation, as a maritime power, to the dignity of the crown of Great Britain, and to the advancement of the trade and navigation thereof, than to make discoveries of countries hitherto unknown; and whereas there is reason to believe that lands and islands of great extent, hitherto unvisited by any European power, may be found in the Atlantic Ocean, between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellanic Streight, within the latitudes convenient for navigation, and in climates adapted to the produce of commodities useful in commerce; and whereas his majesty's islands called Pepys' Island and Falkland's Islands, lying within the said tract, notwithstanding their having been first discovered and visited by British navigators, have never yet been so sufficiently surveyed, as that an accurate judgment may be formed of their coasts and product; his majesty, taking the premises into consideration, and conceiving no conjuncture so

proper for an enterprise of this nature as a time of profound peace, which his kingdoms at present happily enjoy, has thought fit that it should now be undertaken."*

These instructions were dated the 17th of June 1764, and on the 3d of July the squadron sailed from Plymouth. It consisted of two ships,—the Dolphin of twenty-four guns, manned by 150 men and forty-one officers; and the Tamar, carrying sixteen guns, with a crew of ninety seamen and twenty-six officers. The first of these vessels was sheathed with copper, the better to prepare her for the voyage, and is said to have been the first ship so furnished in the British navy. The command of the expedition was intrusted to the Honourable John Byron, whose sufferings, when a midshipman on board of the Wager, have been already alluded to. From that disastrous enterprise he returned to his native country at the age of twenty-two, and having gone through the various steps of promotion, had now attained the rank of post-captain. The greatest secrecy was preserved as to the precise object in view;

* An Account of the Voyages undertaken by the order of his present Majesty for making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere. Drawn up from the Journals of the Commanders, and from the Papers of Joseph Banks, Esq. By John Hawkesworth, LL.D. London, 1773. 3 vols 4to. General Introduction, pp. i, ii. This work is the chief authority for the three voyages narrated in the present chapter. Its publication was fatal to the author's character. The dangerous tendency of his views on religion, the gratuitous lubricity of his descriptions, and his gross and slovenly inaccuracy, at once excited a storm of popular indignation, in which perished all the honour and reputation gained by his previous writings. He was ambitious to make his book "another Anson's Voyage;" but he has imitated that lively and spirited narrative in no respect but in inattention to the strictness of truth. He was engaged to undertake the work by Lord Sandwich, the first lord of the Admiralty, and his services were remunerated by the munificent sum of £6000.

and so far was this carried, that the seamen were engaged to sail for the East Indies. They were not undeceived as to their real destination until the 22d of October, when, after leaving Rio Janeiro, they were called on deck and informed that they were bound on a voyage of discovery, in consequence of which they were all to be allowed double pay. This intelligence was received with the greatest joy imaginable, and their course was shaped towards the coast of Patagonia. They arrived at Port Desire on the 21st of November, and remained there until the 5th of the next month, when, having completed their supplies, they sailed in search of Pepys' Island,—one of the chief objects set forth in their instructions. The land, to which this name was given in honour of the celebrated Secretary Pepys, was supposed to have been discovered, as has been already stated, in 1684, by the Buccaneers under Cook, in the latitude of forty-seven degrees and forty minutes.* After cruising in search of it six days, Byron, being now certain that no such land existed in the situation laid down by the editor of Cowley's Journal, determined again to return to the American continent, keeping a look-out for the islands of Sibald de Weert, which, by all the charts he had on board, could not be far from his track.† The hopes which seem to have been cherished of finding in these regions a mild climate were now dissipated, and it was agreed by all, that, except in the length of the day, there was no difference between the height of summer here and the depth of winter in England. After a storm, which, the commodore declares, surpassed any he expe-

* See above, p. 151. † Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 25.

rienced in weathering Cape Horn with Anson, he arrived at the entrance of the Straits of Magellan, where he anchored in the vicinity of Cape de las Virgenes.

A number of horsemen were perceived riding backwards and forwards on the coast opposite the ship, and waving something of a white colour, as if inviting the voyagers to land. Two boats were accordingly manned, and as they drew near the shore, they observed about 500 people, the greater part of whom were on horseback, waiting their approach, still making signals and hallooing with great vociferation. No weapons were seen among them; but Byron, notwithstanding, considered it prudent to intimate by signs that they should retire to some distance,—a request with which they instantly complied. As soon as he landed, he drew up the boats' crews on the beach, and having given orders that none of them should leave their ranks until he called or beckoned on them to do so, he advanced alone towards the savages. These continuing to retreat as he approached, he made signs that one of them should come near, when an individual from among their leaders walked towards him. "This chief," says he, "was of a gigantic stature, and seemed to realize the tales of monsters in a human shape; he had the skin of some wild beast thrown over his shoulders, as a Scotch Highlander wears his plaid, and was painted so as to make the most hideous appearance I ever beheld; round one eye was a large circle of white, a circle of black surrounded the other, and the rest of his face was streaked with paint of different colours. I did not measure him, but if I may judge of his height by the proportion of his stature to my own, it could not be much less than

seven feet."* With "this frightful colossus," as the commodore terms him, he walked towards the natives, who, at his request intimated by signs, sat down, when he presented them with beads, ribands, and other trinkets,—all which they received with becoming composure. He describes the whole of them as "enormous goblins," and adds, that "few of the men were less than the chief who had come forward to meet me." His lieutenant, Mr Cumming, "though six feet two inches high, became at once a pigmy among giants; for these people may indeed more properly be called giants than tall men." Another account of the voyage, professing to be written by an officer of the Dolphin,† says of these savages, such was their extraordinary size, that when sitting they were almost as high as the commodore when standing; and adds, that Byron, though he measured fully six feet, "and stood on tiptoe, could but just reach the crown of one of the Indians' heads, who was not by far the tallest among them." —"The women," it is said, "seemed to be from seven and a half to eight feet high; but the men were for the most part about nine feet in height, and some more." The stature of Lieutenant Cumming seems to have recommended him to the favour of these savages, some of whom, we are told, "patted him on the shoulder; but their hands fell with such force that it affected his whole frame." That these statements much exaggerate the size of the people on the Magellanic Straits there can be little doubt,

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 28.

† A Voyage round the World in his Majesty's Ship the Dolphin, commanded by the Honourable Commodore Byron. By an Officer on board the said Ship. London, 1767. P. 44-53.

while it is equally certain, on the other hand, that they are not without some foundation.* Byron's own statement makes them less than seven feet, and even this he does not give as the result of actual measurement, but as the conclusion he came to from comparing his own figure with that of the chief. Making allowance for the uncertainty attending such a mode of computation, there seems to be no ground for questioning the veracity of the commodore, though the stories in the anonymous account are evidently fabulous. Lieutenant Cumming, who acts so prominent a part in these relations, when afterwards questioned on the subject, evinced some reluctance to enter on the discussion; "but at length it was partly gathered and partly extorted from him, that had the occurrence taken place any where else than at Patagonia, they should have set them down as good sturdy savages, and thought no farther about them."†

Byron now sailed up the Straits as far as Port Famine, to procure a supply of wood and water be-

* See Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, p. 101, note. Mr Weddel (Voyage towards the South Pole, in the years 1822–24, London, 1825) thinks "that those with whom Commodore Byron communicated were probably chiefs; but it is more than probable that this tribe, of whatever size, were not inhabitants of the shore, but of the interior, and from the country farther to the northward, and of course seldom, perhaps never, on the shores of the Straits when any vessels touched there, since that time." He adds, that more northern Patagonians had been seen by his officers, "who described them to be generally about six feet high, well proportioned, and appearing upon the whole above the ordinary size."—P. 206.

† This anecdote appears in a Memoir of the Honourable John Byron, prefixed to an edition of his Narrative published at Edinburgh in 1812 by John Ballantyne & Co. Mr Cumming's statement was made to the late Captain Robert Scott of Rosebank, uncle of Sir Walter Scott. "The writer of this Memoir," it is said, "had the pleasure of Captain Scott's personal acquaintance, from whom he had this anecdote."—P. 36.

fore he proceeded to search for the Falkland Islands. It was the month of December, the midsummer of these regions, and their wild shores were clothed with a luxuriance of vegetation. The voyagers observed the ground covered with flowers of various hues, which loaded the air with their fragrance; innumerable clusters of berries glistened on the bushes; amid the rich grass and pea-blossoms there were seen feeding large flocks of birds of uncommon beauty; and forests grew by the banks of the rivers, abounding with trees fit to be masts for the largest ships in the British navy. Woods spread up the sides of the hills from the water's edge; but the mountains farther inland were bleak and bare, and their rugged summits, covered with snow, were seen towering high above those nearest the shore. Drift-wood was also found in large quantities. After a short stay the vessels completed their stores, and on the 4th of January 1765 weighed anchor and steered back through the Straits.

On the 11th, high, craggy, barren rocks were observed, much resembling Staten Land; innumerable quantities of seals and birds were remarked, and many whales approached the ships, some of them of a very great size. On the 15th, a harbour was discovered, so capacious that the whole navy of England might ride in it; to which, in honour of the first lord of the Admiralty, the name of Port Egmont was given. Byron now became convinced that the islands he had reached were the Pepys' Island of Cowley, the Maiden-land of Hawkins, and the Falklands of later geographers; and under this last name he took possession of them for the British crown,—a ceremony which, it has been re-

marked, the tenor of his instructions rendered superfluous. On leaving this group, he stood towards Port Desire, where he met the store-ship which had been despatched from England with provisions. He then returned to the Straits, to pass into the South Sea; which, however, he did not reach till the beginning of April, the passage having occupied seven weeks and two days.

With the view of preserving secrecy, the island of Mas-afuera had been selected as a watering-place, in preference to that of Juan Fernandez; but a heavy surf which broke on its rocky shore prevented him from obtaining a full supply. Hence Byron steered nearly due north, until he attained the latitude of 26° 46′, when he changed his course to the westward, in order to bear down upon Davis' Land or Easter Island; but, finding his progress slow, he sailed to the north-west, in order to profit by the trade-wind. On the morning of the 7th of June, he was in the latitude of 14° 5′ south, and longitude 144° 58′ west, when he discovered two islands, to the smaller of which he directed his prow. As he drew near, it presented the most beautiful appearance; the sea broke upon a beach of the finest white sand, and the interior was covered with tall trees grouped into delightful groves. Many of the natives, armed with spears, appeared on the strand, where they lighted several fires, apparently as signals; for similar tokens instantly blazed upon the other island. A boat was despatched to search for anchorage, but returned without having found any. The scurvy had by this time made dreadful havock among the crews, and such of the sick as were able to crawl on deck "stood gazing at this little paradise,

which nature had forbidden them to enter;" where they saw cocoa-nuts hanging from the trees in large clusters, the shore strewed with the shells of turtle, while the wind wafted to them the fragrance of the finest fruits. As no anchoring-ground was found near the other island, the captain was compelled to quit these inaccessible shores, on which he bestowed the name of Disappointment. The natives were of a deep copper-colour, well proportioned in their limbs, and of great activity and vigour.

On the evening of the 9th, land was again descried, and, on more minute examination, was ascertained to consist of two islands, which, in honour of his majesty, were called King George's. While the boats sailed along the coast of one of them in search of anchorage, the hostile intentions of the natives were so clearly manifested that it was deemed necessary to fire. Two or three of them were slain; one of whom, after being pierced by three balls, seized a large stone, and died in the act of throwing it against his enemy. No anchorage was discovered; but it was nevertheless thought expedient to land part of the crews, in order to procure a supply of cocoa-nuts and scurvy-grass. As the people had fled, their dwellings were totally deserted, except by their dogs, which kept up an incessant howling as long as the seamen continued on shore. In the neighbourhood of the huts, beneath the thick shade of lofty trees, were observed stone buildings, which, from their description, seem to have somewhat resembled the *cromlechs* of the ancient Britons, and were conjectured to be burying-places. When the boats drew near to the shore of the other island, an old man of a venerable appearance, and

wearing a long white beard, accompanied by a youth, came forward from the crowd of savages. He appeared to be a chief, and in one hand held the green branch of a tree, while with the other he pressed his beard to his bosom, and in this attitude commenced a long oration, the periods of which had a musical cadence by no means disagreeable. During this speech the people in the boats threw him several presents, but these he would not suffer to be touched until he had finished his harangue; upon which, advancing into the water, he threw the green branch to the seamen, and then picked up their gifts. Encouraged by these friendly signs, one of the midshipmen swam through the surf to the shore, and several of the natives came off to the boats, bringing with them cocoa-nuts and fresh water. This island lies in latitude 14° 41′, and longitude 149° 15′.

On quitting it Byron stood to the westward, and in the afternoon of the next day discovered a small island, of a green and pleasant appearance, but surrounded by many rocks and islets, which occasioned dreadful breakers. It appearing, however, to be inhabited, was named after the Prince of Wales; and is now believed to be the same with the Fly Island of Schouten and Le Maire.* While in this vicinity the commodore became impressed with the opinion that land existed not far to the south, as well from the discontinuance of a heavy swell which had prevailed for some time, as from the vast flocks of birds which, as evening closed in, always took their flight in that direction. The unhealthy state of his crew, however, prevented him from going in search of it;

* See above, p. 123.

and the discovery of Otaheite and the Society Isles was, accordingly, reserved for the more auspicious fortune of Wallis. Byron's course was now directed north-westwards; and, after having sailed more than 300 leagues, he observed, on the 21st of June, a cluster probably identical with the San Bernardo of Mendana,* which, from the shoals and stormy sea that forbade approach to them, he denominated the Islands of Danger. Three days later, while pursuing his course in a westerly direction, he perceived another island, to which he gave the name of the Duke of York; and on the 2d of July, in latitude 1° 18′ south, longitude 173° 46′ east, he approached one, low and flat, but well covered with wood. About 1000 natives appeared on the beach, and more than sixty canoes pulled off from the shore, and ranged themselves round the ships. The savages were tall and well formed; their complexion a bright copper colour; their hair long and black, in some tied up behind in a great bunch, in others arranged into three knots; their features good, and marked by an expression of cheerful intrepidity. They were perfectly naked, wearing nothing on their persons but some ornaments of shells on their necks, wrists, and waists. One, who appeared to be a chief, had a string of human teeth round his body. Their arms consisted of a kind of spear, broad at the end, and stuck full of shark's teeth as sharp as lancets. One of these savages swam to the ship and ran up the side like a cat, and having stepped over the gunwale sat down on it and burst into a violent fit of laughter, then started up and ran all over the ship, attempting to steal

* See above, p. 92.

every thing that came in his way. A jacket and trousers were put upon him, and his gestures, which were like those "of a monkey newly dressed," produced much merriment among the seamen; and, after playing a thousand antic tricks, he leaped overboard, and swam in his new garments to his canoe. Finding it impossible to procure refreshments for the sick, the ships were obliged to make sail from this place, which was named Byron's Island.

On the 30th of June, the squadron came in sight of Tinian, and on the 31st, anchored in the very same spot where Lord Anson formerly lay with the Centurion. The aspect of things was to them, however, very different from the high-wrought description of the former voyage. "I am indeed of opinion," says the commodore, "that this is one of the most unhealthy spots in the world, at least during the season in which we were here. The rains were violent and almost incessant, and the heat was so great as to threaten us with suffocation. . . . We were incessantly tormented by the flies in the day, and by the musquitoes in the night. The island also swarms with centipedes and scorpions, and a large black ant scarcely inferior to either in the malignity of its bite. Besides these there were venomous insects without number, altogether unknown to us, by which many of us suffered so severely that we were afraid to lie down in our beds."* Till the period of his arrival there, not one of the crew had died; but while at that island two were lost in a fever; those afflicted with the scurvy, indeed, recovered very quickly. He staid nine weeks,

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 118.

when, the health of his crew being re-established and a stock of provisions laid in, he proceeded to Batavia, where he remained till the 10th of December, at which time he set sail for England. An accident having happened to the Tamar which rendered it necessary that she should run down to Antigua to be repaired, the vessels parted company on the 1st of April 1766; and on the 7th of May, the Dolphin made the islands of Scilly, after a voyage of something more than two and twenty months.

In little more than three months after the return of Commodore Byron, another expedition was sent out to prosecute the same general design of making discoveries in the southern hemisphere. It consisted of the Dolphin, which was equipped as before, and of the Swallow, a sloop mounting fourteen guns, with a complement of ninety men, besides twenty-four officers. The latter was commanded by Captain Philip Carteret; while Captain Samuel Wallis, who hoisted his pendant in the Dolphin, was intrusted with the general superintendence of the enterprise. The vessels sailed from Plymouth on the 22d August 1766, attended by a store-ship which, after landing her cargo at Port Famine, proceeded with a load of drift-wood and young trees for the use of a British colony established that year at Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands. On the 16th of December, they anchored near Cape de las Virgenes, at the eastern entrance of the Straits of Magellan. Several of the natives were observed riding along the beach abreast of the ship, and during the night they made great fires and frequently shouted very loud. In the morning, some boats were manned and stood towards the shore, where, having landed, Wallis dis-

tributed several trinkets to the savages, and took an opportunity of ascertaining their height by actual measurement. One of them was six feet seven inches; several reached six feet and a half; and the average of their stature, according to him, was from five feet ten to six feet; while Carteret says, "they were in general all from six feet to six feet five inches."*. In the afternoon of the same day they entered the Straits, and on the 26th arrived at Port Famine, where they remained till the middle of January 1767; the sick being sent on shore, and tents erected on the banks of the Sedger River. Their passage thence was so stormy and tedious that they did not reach the western mouth of the Straits till the 11th of April, "after," says the author, "having been for near four months in a dreary region, where we were in almost perpetual danger of shipwreck, and where in the midst of summer the weather was cold, gloomy, and tempestuous."† On the very day that they entered the South Sea the two vessels parted company, and did not again meet.

Captain Wallis, who held his course to the north-west, suffered much from the severity of the climate and the attacks of the scurvy. At length, on the 3d of June, several gannets were seen, which, along with the variableness of the winds, led to the hope that land was not far distant. The next day a turtle swam past the ship;

* "A Letter from Philip Carteret, Esq., Captain of the Swallow Sloop, to Matthew Maty, M. D., Sec. R. S., on the Inhabitants of the Coast of Patagonia."—Philosophical Transactions, vol. lx. p. 20–26. Carteret sailed with Commodore Byron, and expresses his chagrin that Captain Wallis neglected to acquire a greater knowledge of these savages.

† Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 189.

many birds were seen on the 5th; and on the succeeding noon the sight of a low island at the distance of five or six leagues diffused universal joy on board. As they drew near, a second was descried to the north-westward, and two canoes were seen paddling quickly from the one to the other. The shores were examined in vain for an anchorage; but the boats which landed procured cocoa-nuts and scurvy-grass: no inhabitants were seen, though some huts and skiffs attested their recent presence. The captain gave it the name of Whitsunday Island. He describes it as about four miles in length and three in breadth; but a later voyager has reduced its length to a mile and a half, and assigned to it a situation forty miles westward of that mentioned by his predecessor.* He now stood for the other island, and sent out the boats, which sailed along the beach until dark; but, though they procured some water and cocoa-nuts, they returned to the ship without finding safe ground. Next morning, they were again despatched with instructions to effect a regular landing; which they no sooner did than all the inhabitants embarked, and sailed away to the westward. This island, where Wallis remained two days longer, he named after Queen Charlotte. It is estimated by him to be about six miles long and one broad, and is said to abound in cocoa-nut trees; but these appear to have been completely eradicated since the time of his visit.†

* Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait, in the years 1825-26-27-28, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions. By Capt. F. W. Beechey. 2 vols 8vo. London, 1831, vol. i. p. 205. Wallis placed it in latitude 19° 26′ S., longitude 137° 56′ W. Captain Beechey makes its latitude 19° 23′ 38″ S., and its longitude 138° 36′ 43″ W.

† Beechey, vol. i. p. 207. No cause has been assigned for this singular change.

Having directed his course to the westward, on the afternoon of the same day, which was the 10th June, he discovered another island, on which he found congregated the savages who had fled from Queen Charlotte's, along with some others, amounting in all to about fourscore. The men were armed with pikes and firebrands, and advanced before the women and children, making a great noise, and dancing in a strange manner. This island, which seems to have been selected as a place of retreat, for which its inaccessible shores rendered it well adapted, Captain Wallis denominated Egmont, in honour of the earl of that name, the first lord of the Admiralty.* The next morning, another island was seen resembling the one just described in all respects except in breadth; but a high sea which broke on its rocky beach rendered landing impossible. Sixteen natives were observed, armed like the others. It was called Gloucester; and later navigators, while they assign to it a different position, bear testimony to the accuracy of his description, though its present form and extent are said to differ materially. On the 12th, an island was observed, which was denominated Cumberland; while the name of Prince William Henry was bestowed on a small low one descried at a distance on the daybreak of the 13th. The variety of longitudes assigned to these places has led succeeding observers to claim them as new discoveries; and, exercising the privilege of a first

* The latitude assigned by Wallis is 19° 20′ S., the longitude 138° 30′ W. Captain Beechey's tables give the latitude of the north and south-west extremities, the former 19° 22′ 59″ S., the latter 19° 24′ 26″, the longitude of the same spots 139° 12′ 03″ W., and 139° 14′ 34″. Captain Beechey calls this "the second discovery of Captain Wallis," vol. i. p. 210, apparently forgetting Queen Charlotte's Island.

visiter, the French officer Duperrey seems to have conferred on Prince William Henry's the new title of L'Ostange.* On the 17th, land was seen in the north-west: it was high, and covered with cocoa-trees; but as no anchorage could be found, Wallis, after procuring a few articles of refreshment, pursued his course, bestowing on the country the title of Osnaburg,—a name which has since given place to the native appellation of Maitea.

In about half an hour after, very lofty ground was discerned to the west-south-west; but though the ship was immediately steered toward it, owing to adverse weather, she did not reach it that night. The next morning, which broke clear and fair, showed it at the distance of five leagues. At eight o'clock, they were close under it, when a thick fog obliged them to lie to, and for a time concealed from them the shores of Otaheite. At length the mists rolled away, and they saw before them a country of "the most delightful and romantic appearance that could be imagined;" along the coast extended fertile plains covered with fruit-trees of various kinds, and embosomed among these were seen the houses of the natives; the interior rose into towering mountains crowned with wood, and large rivers were seen falling from the rocks in picturesque cascades. Around the ship, the water was studded with some hundreds of canoes of various sizes, containing about 800 individuals, who sat gazing at her in great astonishment, and, by turns, conversed one with another. Their wonder was excited by other circumstances besides the vast bulk and strange construction of the Dol-

* Beechey, vol. i. pp. 249, 250.

phin; they beheld the fulfilment of a prophecy, which had been handed down to them from remote times, but was of a nature so incredible, that they scarcely expected it would ever come to pass. One of their sages, named Maui, had in an inspired moment foretold, that "in future ages a *vaa ama ore*, literally, an outriggerless canoe," would come to their shores from a distant land. An outrigger being indispensable to keep their barks upright in the water, they could not believe that a vessel without one could live at sea, until, on looking on the magnificent structure before them, they unanimously declared that the prediction of Maui was fulfilled, and that the fated ship had arrived.* After

* Polynesian Researches, during a Residence of nearly Eight Years in the Society and Sandwich Islands. By William Ellis. 2d edition, London, 1831, vol. i. p. 383. Mr Ellis' account of the native traditions regarding the arrival of Wallis is hardly reconcileable with facts. He says, that when the people first saw the ships, they were induced to suppose them "islands inhabited by a supernatural order of beings, at whose direction lightnings flashed, thunders roared, and the destroying demon slew with instantaneous but invisible strokes the most daring and valiant of their warriors. *But when they afterwards went alongside, or ventured on board,*" &c., they discovered them to be ships, and "*were confirmed in this interpretation when they saw the small boats belonging to the ships employed in passing to and fro between the vessel and the shore.*"—Vol. i. p. 384. But in point of fact, the natives came alongside, ventured on board, and became familiar with the boats, *before* they knew any thing of the "lightning-flash and thunder-roar," or the deadly effects of fire-arms. There are one or two smaller inaccuracies in Mr Ellis' valuable work with regard to the early visiters. He seems almost to have forgotten that Wallis was expressly sent out to prosecute the discovery of new lands; for he attributes the arrival at Otaheite to "accident, so far as Captain Wallis was concerned."—Vol. ii. p. 1. The result of a concerted expedition can scarcely be called "accident;" nor can we see the distinction on which the discoveries of Cook are attributed to a desire for "the advancement of knowledge," and those of Wallis ascribed to chance. The discovery of Sagitaria by Quiros occurred in the beginning of the *seventeenth*, not "*towards the end of the sixteenth* century," as stated by Mr Ellis, vol. i. p. 6.

having consulted together for some time, they paddled their canoes round the vessel, making various signs of friendship, and a person, holding in his hand a branch of the plantain-tree, spoke about fifteen minutes, and concluded by throwing the bough into the sea. Soon after, one was prevailed on to come on board, but would not accept the presents offered to him until some of his companions, after "much talk," threw a few similar twigs on the deck. Several of the others soon imitated his example. One of them was attacked by a goat, which butted at him, and, on turning hastily round, the appearance of an animal so new to him, raised on its hind legs preparing to repeat the blow, struck him with such terror that he instantly leapt into the water, and was followed by all his countrymen. In a brief space, however, they again ventured on deck, and were presented with trinkets and nails; their visit being terminated by one of them snatching a new laced hat from a midshipman's head, and springing with his plunder over the ship's side.

No anchorage being found here, Wallis stood along the shore, the boats keeping close to the land to sound. In the afternoon, they reached a large bay, where a great number of canoes came around them; and the captain, suspecting their hostile intentions, made a signal for his people to join, while, to intimidate the savages, he fired a nine-pounder over their heads. Though startled by the report, they endeavoured to cut off the boats, and made an attack with stones, which wounded several seamen, when a musket was fired at the man who had commenced the assault. The shot pierced his shoulder, and as soon as the wound was perceived by his

companions, they leapt into the sea; while the others paddled away in great terror and confusion. Not long after, a canoe came off to the ship, and one of the natives having spoken about five minutes, threw a branch of the plantain-tree on board,—a token of peace which the English accepted, and gave him some trinkets, with which he departed apparently well pleased. Next morning, the search for anchoring-ground was renewed, and continued during all that day; in the evening, the Dolphin lay to abreast of a fine river, and a great number of lights was observed along the shore throughout the night. At dawn, anchorage was obtained; and as soon as the vessel was secured, the boats were sent out to examine the coast and seek for a watering-place. When they approached the land, the canoes which were engaged in traffic with the crew sailed after them, and three of the largest ran at the cutter and staved in her quarter, while the islanders made themselves ready to board her. The party fired, and two of the natives fell into the sea; on which the attack was instantly abandoned. Their companions pulled the men who had fallen overboard from the water and set them on their feet; finding they could not stand, it was tried if they could sit upright; one of them, who was only wounded, was able when supported to retain this posture; but the other, who was dead, they laid in the bottom of the canoe. Notwithstanding this affray, some of them speedily resumed their traffic, and an amicable intercourse was maintained during the time the Dolphin lay there. The men despatched to procure water, found the beach lined with inhabitants, who endeavoured to entice them on shore by every expedient they could

devise; but, unwilling to trust those whose hostile dispositions they had so lately experienced, landing was postponed until the ship should be moored so as to cover them with her guns.

At daybreak on the 23d June, while standing off to effect this object, a bay six or eight miles to leeward was discovered from the mast-head, and Wallis immediately bore away for it. As he stood in to this harbour, the Dolphin suddenly struck on a coral reef; but after beating against it about an hour, a fresh breeze springing up, she swung off, and shortly after came to an anchor within it. The next morning they proceeded to warp the ship farther in, when a great number of people came off and engaged in traffic, by which hogs, fowls, and fruit, were exchanged for knives, nails, and beads. As the day advanced, the canoes gradually increased; and the captain observed with some anxiety the appearance of those which last arrived. They were double, and of a very large size, containing little else but round pebble-stones, and each was manned by twelve or fifteen stout fellows. From these circumstances, it was judged prudent to keep one of the watches constantly under arms, while the rest of the crew were engaged in warping the ship. Meanwhile more of the small craft continued to arrive; although those which now moved from the shore presented any thing but a warlike aspect. They were filled with females, who tried every art to attract the attention of the sailors: while the double canoes were closing round the Dolphin, some of the savages on board of them sung in a hoarse voice, others sounded the conch, and a third party played on an instrument resembling a flute. One, who sat on a canopy fixed on his

small boat, now came alongside and handed up a bunch of red and yellow feathers. Wallis received this with expressions of friendship, and was preparing to present the donor with some trinkets in return, when the latter, having paddled off to a little distance, threw into the air a branch of a cocoa-nut-tree. At this signal a universal shout burst from the islanders; all their canoes at once moved towards the man-of-war; and a shower of stones was poured into her from all directions. The watch were instantly ordered to fire, and two of the quarter-deck swivels loaded with small shot were discharged nearly at the same time. The natives appeared to be thrown into confusion, but in a few minutes renewed the attack. At this time there were about 300 of their vessels round the ship, with at least 2000 men on board; many thousands were observed crowding the shore; and others were paddling towards the Dolphin in the greatest haste from all sides. The crew having now got to their quarters, a fire was opened from the great guns, which soon put to flight those near the ship, and also checked the embarkation of more warriors from the land. The savages, however, were not dispirited; the firing having ceased, the canoes soon gathered together and lay for some time looking at their antagonist from the distance of about a quarter of a mile. Suddenly they were observed to hoist white streamers; they then paddled towards the stern, and began a discharge of stones, each about two pounds in weight, and slung with such force and an aim so true that many of the seamen were wounded. Several canoes, at the same time, were making towards the bow, and among these was one which

appeared to have a chief on board. Two cannon were now run out abaft and pointed at the assailants in that quarter, while others were run forward and fired from the stem. A shot from one of these struck the vessel which contained the supposed leader, and cut it asunder; which was no sooner perceived than the others dispersed with such haste that in half an hour there was not a single canoe in sight. The people who lined the shore were observed running over the hills in great precipitation, and no farther token of hostility appearing, the English proceeded to moor the ship and to sound the bay.

About noon of the succeeding day, it was ascertained that the beach afforded good landing in every part; no canoes were visible, and Lieutenant Furneaux was ordered to go ashore. This was effected without opposition; and having erected a pole, on which he hoisted a pendant, and turned a turf, he took possession of the country by the name of King George the Third's Island,—a title which has been superseded by the indigenous appellation of Otaheite, or, as it is now sometimes written, Tahiti.* Two old men were discovered on the opposite side of a river which flowed into the bay,

* The latter spelling is said by Mr Ellis to approximate more nearly to the native pronunciation; but, from a feeling (which we share with Captain Beechey and others) of "veneration for the name as it is written in the celebrated Voyages of Cook," we shall adhere to his orthography. The name Tahiti is, besides, in itself objectionable. "By the natives," says Mr Ellis, "their island is called Ta-hi-ti. The *i* having the sound of *e* in their language, it is pronounced, as if written in English, Ta-he-te."—Vol. i. p. 7. If *Otaheite* is to be set aside, because not consonant with the native pronunciation, why should *Tahiti* be retained when liable to the same objection? Even on Mr Ellis' own showing and principles, *Tahiti* should in turn give way to *Tahete*.

and signs having been made that they should come over, one of them complied and advanced towards the lieutenant on his hands and knees. He was presented with some trinkets, and as soon as the boats put off he began to caper round the flag, and threw down some green boughs before it. He was afterwards joined by ten or twelve others, who brought with them two large hogs, which they deposited at the foot of the pole, and, after a pause, began to dance. The quadrupeds were then put on board a canoe, into which the old man accompanied them; and, coming alongside of the ship, he made a formal oration and presented some plantain-leaves, one by one, each accompanied by a few words slowly and solemnly spoken. He concluded by offering the two hogs, for which he would accept nothing in return, but eagerly pointed to the land.

During the night, innumerable lights were seen along the coast, and the sound of drums, conchs, and other instruments, was heard; and, when the morning of the 26th broke, the pendant was found to have been carried away. The lieutenant again landed, and while he was engaged in filling the water-casks, the old man appeared with some fruits and a few fowls. At this time Captain Wallis, who was confined to the ship by ill health, observed through his glass a multitude of the savages coming over a hill at about the distance of a mile; a great number of canoes were seen making towards the watering-place from behind the two points of the bay; many thousands of the natives were perceived advancing through the woods in the same direction; and a large party was discovered creeping behind the

bushes close to the waterers. A boat was instantly despatched to warn them of their danger; but before it reached the shore they had seen the islanders lurking in the thicket and had embarked. The bay now exhibited a spectacle of singular interest. The canoes from both sides advanced rapidly towards the same point, and, as they came near, stopped to take on board more warriors and great bags of stones. The margin of the beach was thronged with people all hastening to the river, and a hill which looked down on the harbour was crowded with women and children, who had seated themselves to view the approaching conflict.

At length the preparations of the native armament were completed, and the whole flotilla made towards the Dolphin, which immediately opened a destructive fire. The rude armada was almost instantly dispersed; the canoes on the east side of the bay paddled round the point, and were soon beyond the reach of shot; while those on the west side were run on shore, and deserted by their crews. The fire was now directed into different parts of the wood, and the savages, driven from this shelter, ran up the eminence on which the women and children had taken their position. This hill was thronged with several thousand people, who considered themselves beyond the reach of danger, when, to impress on them the tremendous power of his artillery, Wallis ordered some of the guns to be fired at this vast multitude. Two of the balls struck the ground near a tree where a great number were sitting in fancied security, and created such a consternation "that in less than two minutes not one of them was to be seen." To com-

plete his victory, he sent the carpenters to destroy all the canoes which had been run aground. More than fifty, some of them sixty feet in length, were demolished in a few hours.

These severe measures at length produced the desired effect; the islanders were now completely dispirited, and submitted to keep peace with those strangers, whose terrible superiority made war hopeless. A few hours after the battle, about ten of them issued from the wood bearing green boughs, which they stuck up on the shore, and deposited beside them some hogs, dogs, and bundles of cloth. This peace-offering was accepted, and returned by a present of hatchets, nails, and some other articles; and, from this time, a friendly feeling was displayed in all their transactions.

The next day, the 27th June, the sick were landed, and a tent erected for their residence. A traffic was commenced for provisions, and continued to be carried on amicably, chiefly through the medium of the old man on behalf of the islanders, and the gunner on the part of the English. Iron was the object which the natives prized most highly, and for a small portion of it they willingly parted with every thing they had. "To discover what present would most gratify them," says Wallis, "I laid down before them a Johannes, a guinea, a crown-piece, a Spanish dollar, a few shillings, some new halfpence, and two large nails, making signs that they should take what they liked best. The nails were first seized with great eagerness, and then a few of the halfpence, but the silver and gold lay neglected."* No

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 240.

event of importance occurred until the 11th July, when the gunner conducted on board a tall woman, apparently about forty-five years of age, and, says the captain, "of a pleasing countenance and majestic deportment." She displayed a freedom and ease of carriage which appeared to have been formed by habitual command; while she accepted the presents which were given her with a very good grace. Understanding that the commander had been ill, she made signs inviting him to land. The gunner conducted her ashore, and, on his return, reported that her house was spacious, and furnished with many domestics and guards, and that another mansion which she possessed "was enclosed in lattice-work."

The next morning, Wallis landed for the first time, and "my princess, or rather queen," says he, "for such by her authority she appeared to be, soon after came to me." She ordered her attendants to take him, and two of the officers who had been sick, in their arms and carry them to her house; and when they approached it they were met by numbers of both sexes, whom she presented to the captain as her relations, and taking hold of his hand she made them kiss it.* They were then ushered into the dwelling, which was large and commodious, and on the invalids being seated their arms and legs were gently chafed by young girls. During this

* An engraving of this scene inserted in Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 242, is entitled "A Representation of the Surrender of the Island of Otaheite to Captain Wallis, by the supposed queen, Oberea."—Description of the Cuts, p. xxxvi. It seems difficult to account for the origin of this strange title; there is certainly nothing even hinted at in the text of such a "surrender," nor had this imaginary queen the power of giving away what was not her own.

operation, the surgeon, heated by his walk, took off his wig to cool himself; "a sudden exclamation of one of the Indians who saw it, drew the attention of the rest, and in a moment every eye was fixed upon the prodigy, and every operation was suspended; the whole assembly stood some time motionless in silent astonishment, which could not have been more strongly expressed if they had discovered that our friend's limbs had been screwed on to the trunk."* When the chafing was finished, their hospitable entertainer ordered bales of cloth to be brought, with which she dressed them after the native fashion. On their departure she accompanied them to the boats; and Wallis having declined the honour of being again carried, the supposed queen, says he, "took me by the arm, and whenever we came to a plash of water or dirt, she lifted me over with as little trouble as it would have cost me to have lifted over a child." The next morning, a present was sent to her of some hatchets, bill-hooks, and other things, and the gunner, who convoyed them, found her conducting an entertainment given to about 1000 people. She distributed the viands to the guests with her own hands, and when this was done, seated herself on a place elevated above the rest, and was fed by two female servants.

On the 14th, the same officer observed an old woman on the opposite side of the river weeping bitterly. A young man who stood by her crossed, and, coming to the Englishman, made a long speech, and laid a plantain-bough at his feet. He then repassed the stream to bring over his aged friend

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 243.

and two large hogs. "The woman," says the captain, "looked round upon our people with great attention, fixing her eyes sometimes upon one, and sometimes upon another, and at last burst into tears. The young man who brought her over the river, perceiving the gunner's concern and astonishment, made another speech longer than the first. Still, however, the woman's distress was a mystery; but at length she made him understand that her husband and three of her sons had been killed in the attack on the ship. During this explanation she was so affected that at last she sunk down unable to speak, and the two young men, who endeavoured to support her, appeared to be nearly in the same condition; they were probably two more of her sons, or some very near relations. The gunner did all in his power to sooth and comfort her; and when she had in some measure recovered her recollection, she ordered the two hogs to be delivered to him, and gave him her hand in token of friendship, but would accept nothing in return, though he offered her ten times as much as would have purchased the hogs at market."*

On the 21st July, the queen again came on board, and brought several hogs as a present, for which, as usual, she would accept no recompense. On her departure, the captain accompanied her on shore, where he was very kindly treated, and remained during the day. As he was parting in the evening, he intimated that he would leave the island in seven days, which she instantly comprehended, and expressed a desire that he would extend them to twenty. "I again,"

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. pp. 244, 245.

says the commander, "made signs that I must go in seven days, upon which she burst into tears, and it was not without great difficulty that she was pacified."

On the morning of the 25th, a party, consisting of forty seamen and all the marines, was sent out to explore the interior of the island. The instructions given to them would almost lead us to think that the expedition had been fitted out with the expectation of discovering regions abounding in gold and silver: They were directed to "examine the soil and produce of the country, noting the trees and plants which they should find, and when they saw any stream from the mountains, to trace it to its source, and observe whether it was tinctured with any mineral or ore." While they were absent an eclipse of the sun was observed, and the queen was shown the powers of the telescope, which excited in her "a mixture of wonder and delight which no language can describe." With a view to the security of the party, Wallis invited her and several of the chiefs on board, to partake of a dinner which was prepared for the occasion; but her majesty would neither eat nor drink. In the evening the men returned, and reported that they had "proceeded up the valley as far as they could, searching all the runs of water, and all the places where water had run, for appearances of metal or ore," but had found none. Shortly after, the great lady and her attendants departed, and on leaving, asked her host if he still persisted in quitting the island at the time he had fixed; "and when," says he, "I made her understand that it was impossible I should stay longer,

she expressed her regret by a flood of tears, which for a while took away her speech."*

The next day, the ship being completely supplied with wood and water, preparations were made for sailing. The island princess came on board with presents, and renewed her solicitations that Wallis would remain ten days longer, and on receiving a negative, burst as usual into tears. She then inquired when he would return, and on his intimating in fifty days, she tried to reduce the period to thirty. She remained in the Dolphin till night, and when told that the boat was ready to conduct her on shore, she threw herself down on the arm-chest, and wept very passionately; and it was with the greatest difficulty that she was prevailed on to quit the vessel. The next morning, that of the 27th July, she again came to see her friends, "but not being able to speak, she sat down and gave vent to her passion by weeping;" and it was not until they were under sail that she took her departure, "embracing us all," says the narrator, "in the most affectionate manner, and with many tears." Soon after, the ship was becalmed, when the queen again came off in her canoe, in the bow of which "she sat weeping with inconsolable sorrow." The captain gave her various articles which he thought would be of use to her, and others that were merely ornamental; and, as he remarks, "she silently accepted of all, but took little notice of any thing." About ten o'clock, a fresh breeze springing up, the ship cleared the reef, when the natives, and particularly the queen, once more bade them farewell, "with such tenderness of affection and grief,"

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 251.

Island of Otaheite.

says the navigator, "as filled both my heart and my eyes."* To the harbour in which he had moored he gave the name of Port-Royal; but it is better known by the native designation of Matavai Bay.

He now sailed along the shores of the neighbouring island of Eimeo, which he named after the Duke of York, and on the next morning discovered the one which he dedicated to Sir Charles Saunders, though the native appellation seems to be Tabuaemanu.† Another, about ten miles long and four broad, called after Lord Howe, was the next discovery; while a dangerous group of shoals was denominated the Scilly. The ship's course was continued westward until she made the Traitors and Cocos Islands of Schouten and Le Maire, which the captain designated Keppel and Boscawen.

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 259. The account of his interview with this lady has exposed Wallis to a good deal of ridicule. Mr Barrow (Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, London, 1831, p. 16) remarks,—"The tender passion had certainly caught hold of one or both of these worthies, and if her majesty's language had been as well understood by Captain Wallis as that of Dido was to Æneas, when pressing him to stay with her, there is no doubt it would have been found not less pathetic,—

'Nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam
Nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?'"

Nor could my kindness your compassion move,
Nor plighted vows, nor dearer bands of love?
Or is the death of a despairing queen
Not worth preventing, though too well foreseen?—DRYDEN.

Dalrymple has characterized Captain Wallis as "him who left the arms of a Calypso to amuse the European world with stories of enchantments in the New Cytherea, mistaking the example of Ulysses, who never wished to return home till he had achieved that for which he went abroad." But it should be kept in view, that the narrative, though it runs in Wallis' name, was in reality the composition of another; and that the blunt and unsuspecting seaman may not have been very likely to discover the ridiculous colouring which the account was made to assume.

† This is the name by which Mr Ellis usually calls Sir Charles Saunders' Island; but he also uses that of "Maiaoiti."—Vol. i. p. 8.

The crazy state of the Dolphin now determined him to return to Europe by the west, instead of braving again the stormy climate of Cape Horn or the Straits. He accordingly shaped his course for the Ladrones, and arrived at Tinian on the 19th of September, having discovered on the way two small islands enclosed within a coral reef, which his officers, in honour of him, called Wallis.* At Tinian he remained about a month, when he set sail for Batavia; in his passage to which he encountered many tempestuous gales. "While one of these blasts was blowing with all its violence, and the darkness was so thick that we could not see from one part of the ship to the other, we suddenly discovered by a flash of lightning a large vessel close aboard of us. The steersman instantly put the helm a-lee, and the ship answering her rudder, we just cleared each other. This was the first ship we had seen since we parted with the Swallow."

The remainder of this voyage was marked by no incident of any interest. The Dolphin anchored in the Downs on the 20th of May 1768, just 637 days from the time she had spread her sails in Plymouth Sound.

The separation of Wallis and Carteret at the western mouth of the Straits of Magellan, however much regretted by the commanders at the time, cannot now be regarded as otherwise than fortunate.

* This discovery is spoken of in the text as consisting of only one island, while the accompanying chart shows two. It were certainly to be wished that there had been no discrepancy; but we have the authority of Hawkesworth for following the latter. "Great care," says he, "has been taken to make the charts and the nautical part of the narrative coincide; if there should be any difference, which it is hoped will not be the case, the charts are to be confided in as of unquestionable authority."—General Introd. p. viii.

Had the vessels kept company, the knowledge of Otaheite and of a few small islands would, in all probability, have been the only acquisition; but while the one was exploring its coasts, the other, by pursuing a track more to the southward, made discoveries of equal importance, and brought back to Europe tidings of the long-lost lands of Quiros and Mendana, as well as of a strait betwixt New Britain and New Ireland.

As was formerly noticed, it was on the 11th April 1767, when the vessels had just come in sight of the South Sea, that the Dolphin caught a favourable breeze, before which she stood away and soon cleared Cape Pilares, leaving the Swallow in the narrows, where she remained four days. Captain Carteret ascribes much of his detention to the crazy state of his ship and the want of proper supplies,—a subject to which he frequently recurs during his voyage.

On leaving the Straits, he stood to the north for the island of Mas-afuera, where he stopped some time to procure a supply of water. He then sailed to the westward, and searched, though in vain, for the islands of San Felix, and for Davis' Land or Easter Island. His first discovery was that of a spot, the romantic history of which has attracted in later times so much attention. On the 2d of July, he descried land, which on a nearer approach appeared "like a great rock rising out of the sea:" its circumference is described as not exceeding five* miles; and it is added, that it was covered with trees, but without any appearance of inhabitants. The surf, which broke with great violence on every

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 341. By the accompanying chart the circumference appears to be about *nine* miles.

side of it, forbade landing, and, in honour of the young gentleman to whose eye it first appeared, it was called Pitcairn's Island. It was a perusal of Carteret's description of this spot that led Christian and the mutineers of the Bounty to seek in it a retreat from the vengeance due to their guilt.* It was well adapted for their purpose; approach was difficult; it seemed to be uninhabited, afforded fresh water, and the trees with which it was covered showed it to be fertile. They found in it, indeed, every thing which they desired from external nature, and had no hinderance to their hopes of happiness but in their own evil passions, which in a short time brought down upon them punishments as deadly as those they sought to fly from, and stained this fair isle with crimes as dark as ever tragedy recorded. Pitcairn's Island has been supposed to be the La Encarnacion of Quiros; but the description which that navigator gives,—"low and flat, with a sandy surface, here and there diversified by a few trees,"†—is quite inconsistent with the hilly land, the summits of which Beechey found to be 1109 feet above the sea. Captain Cook's conjecture, that it is identical with Quiros' second discovery,—the island of San Juan Bautista,—seems also untenable. This last is described as "plain and even a-top," and as containing about twelve leagues; circumstances which are by no means applicable to the other.‡ Mr Bar-

* Beechey, vol. i. p. 80.

† See above, p. 107.

‡ A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World, 1772-1775, vol. i. General Introduction, p. xii. Captain Cook has been led into an error from a misinterpretation of the Spanish text, the meaning of which seems certainly rather ambiguous. But, however it may be construed, the "level top," on which all are agreed, makes it inapplicable to Pitcairn's Island.

row remarks, that "we must look for La Encarnacion somewhere else; and Ducies Island, in that vicinity, very low, and within 5° of longitude from Pitcairn's Island, answers precisely to it."*

About six days after his departure hence, Carteret discovered southward of his track a small, low, flat island, almost level with the water's edge, and covered with green trees. He bestowed on it the name of the Bishop of Osnaburg, and, according to his calculation, its latitude was 22° south, its longitude 141° 34′ west. Captain Beechey searched in this neighbourhood two days, but was unable to find it; and he therefore imagines it to be identical with one on which he discovered the marks of a shipwreck, supposed to be that of the Matilda whaler, lost near this in 1792. This he proposes should be called Osnaburg and Matilda Island. We are reluctant to dissent from so able a navigator as the gallant captain; but his theory appears irreconcilable with the facts. Carteret speaks of Osnaburg Island as "small, low, and flat, and covered with green trees;"† and, as Captain Beechey himself remarks, the crew of the Matilda "describe themselves to have been lost *on a reef of rocks;* whereas the island on which these anchors are lying extends *fourteen miles* in length, and has one of its sides covered nearly the whole of the way with high trees, which, from the spot where the vessel was wrecked, are very conspicuous, and could not fail to be seen by persons in the situation of her crew."‡ In attempting to remove this striking dis-

* Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, p. 288, note.
† Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 342.
‡ Beechey, vol. i. p. 217.

crepancy by the hypothesis "that a considerable alteration has taken place in the island," he must have forgotten, that if this be Osnaburg, it was "small" and covered with trees in 1767, the date of its discovery. How improbable is it that it should have been wooded then, have become a bare reef of rocks in 1792, and again bear trees, and extend "fourteen miles in length," in 1826!

The next day, Carteret saw two small islands, which he called after the Duke of Gloucester; they were replenished with wood, but apparently uninhabited, and the long billows rolling from the southward convinced him that there existed no continent in that direction. He continued his course to the westward, until he had sailed, according to his reckoning, 1800 leagues from the shores of America; when, finding his endeavours to keep in a high southern latitude ineffectual, and his crew in a sickly condition, he determined to approach the equator, to get into the trade-wind. His object was to reach some island where he might procure refreshment; after which he hoped to be able to resume his voyage towards the south.

On the 26th of July, he was in latitude 10° south, and longitude 167° west, where he expected to fall in with the Islands of Solomon, and for that purpose kept in the same parallel until the 3d of August, when, having attained the latitude of 10° 18′ south, and longitude of 177½° east, "five degrees to the westward of the situation of these islands in the charts," he came to the conclusion, "that if there are any such islands their situation is erroneously laid down." Had the constructors of these maps examined the original authorities, they would have

scarcely ventured to assign any certain position to these islands. The latitude in which the ancient writers place them varies from 7° to 19° south, and the longitude from 2400 miles to 7500 miles west of Peru; and so imperfectly was their situation ascertained, that even their discoverer was baffled in an attempt to revisit their shores.*

At daybreak on the 12th of August, land was seen; and so distressed were the crew that, says the captain, "the sudden transport of hope and joy which this inspired, can, perhaps, be equalled only by that which a criminal feels who hears the cry of a reprieve at the place of execution." It proved to be a cluster of islands, of which seven were counted, but there was reason to believe that there were many more. In the evening, the ship anchored off the largest, and the natives were discovered to be black, woolly headed, and naked. The next morning, the master was despatched in the cutter to explore the coast for a watering-place; and the long-boat was sent on shore in the afternoon to endeavour to establish a friendly intercourse with the inhabitants. These, however, either disregarded or did not understand the amicable signs made to them, but resolutely advanced within bowshot of the boats, when they discharged their arrows, and instantly fled into the woods. No harm was sustained by this attack, which was returned with a fire of musketry equally unsuccessful. Shortly after, the cutter came alongside, with the master mortally wounded by three arrows which were still sticking in his body, and three of the seamen in the

* See above, pp. 91, 92; and Dalrymple's Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 44-46.

same condition. The savages, it appeared, had at first received them with marks of friendship, and only commenced an attack on the master when they saw him wantonly cutting down one of their cocoa-nut trees. The next, and several succeeding days, were spent in obtaining a small supply of water; but such was the determined hostility of the people that the party were obliged to keep within shelter of the guns. There was no hope of obtaining the refreshments required, and on the 17th, therefore, the anchor was weighed, and the vessel proceeded to coast the northern side of the island. It appeared to be very populous, and numerous villages were observed, from some of which the inhabitants came out as the ship passed by, "holding something in their hands, which looked like a wisp of green grass, with which they seemed to stroke each other, at the same time dancing or running in a ring."*

On arriving at the west end of the island, the sickly condition of his crew, his own bad health, the frail state of his ship, and other considerations, determined Carteret immediately to stand to the north, abandoning all thoughts of southern discovery, or of more closely examining the interesting group which he had reached. To the whole cluster, he gave the general appellation of Queen Charlotte, and distinguished seven of them by individual titles. The largest was called Egmont or New Guernsey,—and, says he, "it certainly is the same to which the Spaniards have given the name of Santa Cruz;"—the native term seems to be Andany or Nitendy. One which exhibited volcanic appearances,

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 359.

and seems to have been remarked by Mendana,* was designed Vulcano. The most northerly of the group was named Swallow or Keppel.† Three to the south and east of Egmont were called respectively, Lord Howe's or New Jersey, Lord Edgecumbe's or New Sark, and Ourry or New Alderney; and the name of Trevanion was bestowed on a small one at the north-west corner of Santa Cruz. The two islands of Edgecumbe and Ourry, modern geographers represent as only one, bearing the appellation of Toboua. It has been proposed by French writers to withdraw the name of Queen Charlotte, as applied to this cluster, and to substitute the "Archipelago of La Perouse," in honour of that unfortunate navigator, who perished on one of them, as we shall hereafter have occasion to narrate.

On leaving this group, Carteret held a west-north-west course, and on the evening of the second day, discovered a small, flat, and low island, which he called Gower's. The inhabitants resembled those of Egmont; no anchorage was found, and during the night the current drifted his ship to the southward, and brought him in sight of two other islands. The smaller of these was denominated Simpson's;

* See above, p. 92. The identity of Queen Charlotte's Islands with the archipelago of Santa Cruz, discovered by Mendana in 1595, was triumphantly established by M. le Comte de Fleurieu in a work entitled "Découvertes des Français dans le sud-est de la Nouvelle Guinée. Paris, 1790," 4to. This volume is distinguished by the most laborious research, singular acuteness, and critical discrimination. An English translation appeared at London in 1791.

† In the chart, this island is called Swallow—in the text, Keppel. M. Balbi (Abrégé de Géographie, Paris, 1833, p. 1267) conjectures it to be identical with what he calls "le groupe de Filoli;" but as he mentions this as "composé de huit îlots," and Carteret describes Swallow Island as "a long flat island," his theory does not seem to be tenable.

and to the other, which was lofty and of a stately appearance, the captain gave his own name, which he seems to have been rather fond of linking to his discoveries, as his voyage presents us with Carteret's Island, Carteret's Point, and Carteret's Harbour. The inhabitants were quite naked; their arms were bows and arrows, and spears pointed with flint, and, says the gallant author, "by some signs which they made, pointing to our muskets, we imagined they were not wholly unacquainted with fire-arms." This knowledge they most probably received from a traditional account of the visit of Mendana, about two centuries previous; for it is completely established that these islands are part of the archipelago which bears the name of Solomon. Gower's, for example, is identified with the Nombre de Jesus of the Spaniards, and with the Inattendue of the French navigator Surville; and Carteret's is supposed to be the Malaita of Mendana.*

He now changed his course to the north-west, and on the 24th discovered nine islands, which he imagined to be the Ontong Java of Tasman,—an hypothesis which has not been adopted by all modern geographers, some of whom assign this to Carteret as an original discovery. M. d'Urville considers a group lately made known by the American captain, Morrell, and named by him the Massacre, to be identical with Carteret's Nine Islands.† On that same night another was seen, and called after Sir Charles Hardy; it was of considerable extent,

* See above, pp. 81, 82.

† Observations sur les Découvertes du Capitaine Américain, J. Morrell. Par M. J. d'Urville. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, tome xix. No. cxxi. p. 272.

flat, green, and of a pleasant appearance, and numerous fires which blazed upon its shores showed it to be well peopled. It is supposed to belong to the Green Islands visited by Schouten and Le Maire.* At daybreak of the 25th, they saw one to the southward, large and high, which was named Winchelsea's or Anson's,† and about ten o'clock next morning, they descried another to the northward, which was conjectured to be the St John's Island of Schouten. Soon after, the elevated land of New Britain was visible, and light winds and a strong current bore the Swallow next day into the gulf which Dampier had named St George's Bay. Here Carteret anchored, and remained several days for the purposes of refreshment; during which time he visited some small islands and harbours, and took possession of the whole country, "for his majesty George the Third, king of Great Britain."

While attempting to get off the land, in order to double Cape St Mary, he was met with a violent gale right a-head, and a strong current at the same time set the ship into St George's Bay. Finding it impossible to get round the cape, he determined to attempt a passage through the inlet, which, from the flow of the sea, he was induced to think must open to the westward. He accordingly stood in that direction, and passing a large island‡ which divided the chan-

* See above, p. 134; and Burney's Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. ii. p. 418.

† This discovery receives the name of Winchelsea in the text and of Anson in the chart. It seems to be the Bouca of Bougainville.

‡ The perplexing discrepancies between the text and charts of this voyage, render it almost impossible to present a clear account of the situation of these islands. The island, called in the chart "I. Man," seems to be what in the text is called the Duke of

nel, found, on the morning of the 11th September, that he had lost sight of New Britain, and that the supposed bay was indeed a strait. It was named by him St George's Channel, while the land on the north, which had been hitherto supposed a part of Nova Britannia, was forthwith denominated New Ireland. Carteret pursued his course along the south side of this country, and on the same night discovered an island larger than the former, to which he gave the appellation of Sandwich. During his stay, some canoes, manned by the people of New Ireland, rowed towards the ship. These were black and woolly headed, and much resembled the people of Queen Charlotte's group. Like them, they were naked, except a few shell ornaments on their arms and legs. "They had, however," says the navigator, "adopted a practice, without which none of our belles and beaux are supposed to be completely drest; for the hair, or rather the wool upon their heads, was very abundantly powdered with white powder, and not only their heads but their beards too."* Steering nearly westward, in a short time he came to the south-west extremity of New Ireland, which was named Cape Byron; while to an island, divided from the other by a narrow strait, he gave the title of New Hanover. This is described as high, "finely covered with trees, among which are many plantations, and the whole has a most beautiful appearance." Next morning, six or seven islands

York's Island; and the Isle of Man of the text seems to be the small oblong island, north of the promontory named in the chart Cape Stephens.

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. i. p. 379.

were perceived to the westward; their extent was very considerable, and they were named after the Duke of Portland. The swell of the sea now convinced Carteret that he had passed through the channel and was clear of all the land.

On the 15th September, he reached some islands, of which the inhabitants resembled those of New Ireland; but this cluster, called by him the Admiralty, he was obliged to leave after a very superficial and imperfect examination. Four days later, he discovered two small ones, which he called Durour's and Maty's; and on the 24th, other two, to which he gave the name of Stephens' Islands.* The next day, he observed a group, consisting of three, surrounded by a reef. The natives were of a copper colour, with fine long black hair and pleasing features, evidently of a distinct race from the people of New Ireland. One of them who came on board refused to leave the ship, and accompanied the voyagers to Celebes, where he died. The captain called him Joseph Freewill, and named the islands after him; though the original designations were ascertained to be Pegan, Onata, and Onello. On the 12th of October, a spot of land scarcely bigger than a rock was seen, and denominated Current Island; and the next day, two nearly as small were observed, on which the title of St Andrew was bestowed.

* The late French navigator, Duperrey, having in vain sought for the islands last named in the situation assigned to them by Carteret, has come to the conclusion, that they are the Providence Islands of Dampier.—Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, chap. xi.; and Rapport fait à l'Académie Royale des Sciences, sur le Voyage de la Coquille, commandée par M. L. J. Duperrey. 4to, p. iv.

On the 26th, the adventurers made the coast of Mindanao, one of the Philippines, where they spent several days in endeavouring to establish a friendly communication with the natives. On the 4th of November, finding themselves disappointed in their hopes of procuring refreshments, they set sail for the island of Celebes. In their progress, they were attacked at midnight by a pirate, who endeavoured to board them. Defeated in this attempt, he commenced a discharge with swivel-guns and fire-arms, which the Englishman returned with such deadly effect, "that shortly after he sunk, and all the unhappy wretches on board perished. It was a small vessel; but of what country, or how manned, it was impossible for us to know." At length, after a tedious and stormy passage, on the 15th of December, Carteret anchored off the town of Macassar, from which he removed in a few days to the Bay of Bonthain. The jealousy of the Dutch, which had prevented him from remaining at the former place, wrought him considerable annoyance during the five months he staid at the latter. On the 22d of May 1768, he set sail for the island of Java, where his vessel underwent extensive repairs before proceeding on her homeward voyage. He stopped at the Cape of Good Hope on the 28th November, and continued there till the 6th of January 1769. On the 19th of February,* nearly three weeks after leaving the island of Ascension, a ship was discovered bearing French colours; and at noon of the next day she

* The date assigned to this rencontre by Bougainville, in the text of his book (p. 386), is the 25th of February, and the 18th is that given in the Introduction (p. 7), where he says Carteret arrived in England in June, two months later than the true date.

was so close to the Swallow as to be able to hail her. "To my great surprise," says the captain, "the French vessel made use both of my name and that of the ship, inquiring after my health, and telling me, that after the return of the Dolphin to Europe, it was believed we had suffered shipwreck in the Streight of Magellan, and that two ships had been sent out in quest of us." The officer here alluded to was M. Bougainville, who had just sailed round the globe, and was now directing his course homeward. No other incident worthy of notice occurred during the voyage. On the 7th March, the Swallow made the Azores, or Western Islands, and, passing between St Michael and Terceira,* dropped anchor on the 20th at Spithead.

More than six months before the return of Carteret, Captain Cook had sailed from England on the first of those expeditions which brought him such imperishable honour, and so widely enlarged the bounds of science. But before we proceed to the relation of the life and actions of this illustrious navigator, we have to record the circumnavigation of the Frenchman just named, and the voyages of one or two less distinguished discoverers.

* The Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, par M. Albert Montémont, Paris, 1833, translates this part of Carteret's Journal as follows:—"Le 7 Mars nous arrivâmes aux îles *Hébrides*, et nous passâmes entre *Saint-Michel et Tercère*."—Vol. iii. p. 229. Who could have imagined that St Michael and Terceira were among the number of the Hebrides!

CHAPTER VII.

Circumnavigation of Bougainville.

Project for colonising the Falkland Islands—Their Cession to Spain—Disputes with England—Settlements abandoned—Bougainville discovers the Dangerous Archipelago—Maitea—Otaheite—Incidents during his Stay there—Takes a Native with him—The Grand Cyclades or Australia del Espiritu Santo—Louisiade or the Solomons—Bouca—Choiseul and Bougainville Islands—Return to France—The Otaheitan in Paris—Voyage of Marion—Expedition of Surville—Terre des Arsacides—Voyage of Shortland—New Georgia—Retrospect.

FRANCE was among the latest of European nations to embark in South Sea discovery. Her career may be said to commence with Bougainville; for before his day she had produced very few eminent navigators, and of these the adventures are so imperfectly recorded, that it is almost impossible to separate what is certain from what is doubtful, or to distinguish between truth and fiction.

In 1503, the Sieur Binot Paulmier de Gonneville is reported, in sailing to the East Indies, to have obtained a view of a southern land, by some imagined to be New Holland; though, with a greater show of reason, it is supposed by others to be the island of Madagascar. The discoveries of La Roche and of De Beauchesne Gouin, in the latter years of the seventeenth century, have been already mentioned.* The

* See pp. 151, 153.

beginning of the succeeding age was marked by several French expeditions into the Pacific, but which were attended by no results of any interest or importance. It is only necessary to advert to one of them,—that of Le Gentil de la Barbinais,—and even this is involved in so much doubt, that the acute Burney has questioned "if such a voyage was really made by such a person."* This officer is said to have engaged as supercargo of a French ship, under an English commission, bound for the South Sea. He left France in August 1714, was at Concepcion in March following, and about a twelvemonth afterwards proceeded to China. Subjected there to various delays, he embarked on board another vessel, and returned home in 1718. His narrative is disfigured by the grossest ignorance, and is perfectly useless for any geographical purpose. As a specimen of his accuracy, it may be mentioned, that he places Port Desire on Tierra del Fuego; assigns to Staten Island a more southerly latitude than Cape Horn; and tells that this latter promontory was discovered by a certain Captain Hoorn, who gave it his own name.

The first French circumnavigation had its origin in a design of colonising the Falkland Islands,—a project which, as we have seen, occupied a prominent place in the expedition of Commodore Byron.†

* Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iv. p. 508.

† Bougainville, who had appeared as an author before his circumnavigation, himself wrote the history of his voyage, under the title of "Voyage autour du Monde par la Frégate du Roi La Boudeuse et la Flûte L'Étoile, 1766-1769. Paris, 1771," 4to. Another edition appeared in 1772, in two volumes 8vo; and in the same year, an abridged translation into the German language was published at Leipsic, in one volume 8vo. An English translation, by John Reinhold Forster, was printed at London in 1772, in one volume 4to. Occasion will be taken to point out a few of the blunders which disfigure this publication.

Louis Antoine de Bougainville was born at Paris in 1729, of a family of which he was not the only distinguished member,—the writings of his elder brother, Jean-Pierre, having assigned him a high rank as a geographer, a critic, an antiquary, and a poet. The early life of the former was marked more by activity than by steadiness of purpose. He passed through a variety of professions, and was successively a barrister, secretary to an ambassador, an adjutant, a captain of dragoons, an aide-de-camp, and a colonel of infantry. In all these capacities he discharged his duties with great reputation, and among other honours which he received, his sovereign conferred on him the order of Saint Louis. When the peace of 1763 deprived him of a field for the exertion of his military talents, he turned his attention to naval affairs; and, struck with the happy situation of the Falkland Islands as a place of refreshment for vessels sailing to the Pacific, he proposed to the French government the establishment of a settlement there. The expense of the expedition he undertook to discharge from his own private resources, aided by his relatives; and having procured two vessels, the one of twenty,* the other of twelve guns, he set sail from St Malo on the 15th of September 1763. After touching at Santa Catalina and at Monte Video, to procure a stock of horses and horned cattle, he arrived at the Falklands on the 31st of January in the following year; and, hav-

* Burney, on what authority we know not, describes the larger of the two vessels as carrying twenty-four guns.—Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. v. p. 143. M. de Bougainville's words are,—"L'Aigle de vingt canons et le Sphinx. de douze."—Voyage autour du Monde, p. 48.

ing sailed along the northern coast in search of a harbour, came to a great bay in the eastern extremity of the cluster, which seemed to be well fitted for the proposed colony. On landing, he discovered the cause of an illusion which had deceived many of the early voyagers, to whom it appeared that these islands were covered with wood,—an effect produced by a gigantic rush, not less than five feet in height. He remarked, too, the singular fearlessness with which the animals, hitherto the only inhabitants of these bleak regions, approached the colonists; and that the birds permitted themselves to be taken by the hand, and even voluntarily alighted on the persons of the new settlers. When the islands were lately visited by his majesty's ships Tyne and Clio, the British officers made a similar observation. "The snipes were abundant in the marshy places, and so heedless of approach as almost to submit being trodden upon before taking to flight;" and the wild geese are described as "standing goggling with outstretched necks at their assailants, merely trying to get out of the way with feet, when wings would have served them better."*

Bougainville's little establishment consisted of no more than twenty-seven individuals, five of whom were females, and three children. On the 17th of March, they commenced the construction of their future habitations, which were merely huts covered with rushes. They also erected a magazine capable of containing provisions for two years, and a small fort mounting fourteen pieces of cannon. To en-

* Narrative of a Visit to the Falkland Islands, by an Officer of the Tyne; published in the Athenæum, Numbers 299 and 300, 20th and 27th July 1833.

courage this feeble community, M. de Nerville, cousin to the navigator, consented to remain in charge of their interests until his relative should return from France with supplies; and, having made these arrangements, the latter solemnly took possession of the country in his sovereign's name, and on the 8th of April set sail for France. In October, he again departed from St Malo, and reached the Falklands on the 5th January 1765, having during the voyage made a fruitless search for Pepys' Island. He found the settlers in perfect health, and, having landed those he had brought with him, he proceeded to the Straits of Magellan, in order to take in a cargo of wood for their use. From this voyage, in which he saw the fleet of Commodore Byron, he returned on the 29th of March; and on the 27th April following, sailed again for his native country, leaving behind him no fewer than eighty persons.* In the latter part of the same year, he despatched a vessel from France, which was accompanied with a store-ship belonging to the king, carrying provisions and ammunition to the settlement. These left the colony in a prosperous condition; its numbers were about 150; the governor and commissary (l'ordonnateur) were provided with commodious mansions of stone, and the rest of the population had houses built of turf. There were three magazines for public and private stores; of the wood brought from the Straits several vessels had been built, besides two schooners destined to make a survey of the coasts;

* "La colonie se trouvait composée de *quatre-vingts* personnes," says M. de Bougainville, p. 52. This Mr J. R. Forster translates,—"The colony consisted of *twenty-four* persons."—P. 41. The same statement is repeated at p. 135, vol. iv. of "An Historical Account of all the Voyages round the World." 4 vols 8vo. London, 1773.

and a cargo, consisting of oil and the skins of sea-wolves, was consigned to the mother-country.

It will be in the recollection of the reader, that, in January 1765, Commodore Byron had taken possession of the Falklands in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and had rapidly surveyed their coasts and harbours.* In 1766, an English settlement was made at Port Egmont (the Port de la Croisade of the French); and in December of that year, Captain Macbride, of the Jason frigate, having touched at the establishment formed by Bougainville, claimed the islands as belonging to the British crown, and threatened to force a landing if it were not amicably conceded. His threats did not require to be executed; he was permitted to go ashore, and, having visited the governor, left the colonists in peace. Before this period, however, the Spaniards had advanced a claim, which the court of France were not inclined very seriously to resist, as they had found by this time that there was small chance that their particular views would ever be realized. Accordingly, in the month of November 1766, the French administration acknowledged the right urged by Spain, and determined to cede the islands accordingly. M. de Bougainville has omitted to mention the grounds on which this demand was based; but from the expression "le droit primitif," and his attempt to give to the Spaniards the honour of first visiting the Falklands, it may be conjectured that their claim was made on this footing. "It appears to me," says he, "that the first discovery of them may be attributed to the celebrated Amerigo Vespucci, who, during his third

* See above, p. 202.

voyage for the discovery of America, in the year 1502, sailed along the northern coast. He was ignorant, indeed, if it belonged to an island or was part of a continent; but it is easy to conclude from the route which he followed, from the latitude at which he arrived, and from his description of the coast, that it was the shore of the Malouines."* But M. de Bougainville, in forming this theory, must have misunderstood the main facts on which he proceeds. "We found this land," says Vespucci, "altogether barren, *without harbours*, and destitute of inhabitants." These remarks cannot apply to the Falkland Islands, which, says Burney, "in every quarter present good harbours, where safe anchorage may be found." But even if the merit of making it known is to be attributed to Vespucci, still it confers no "droit primitif" on the Spanish crown, as that navigator, during the voyage in question, was in the service of Emanuel, king of Portugal.†

* Voyage, p. 47. The Malouines is the name commonly applied by the French to this cluster, which, to the grievous perplexity of geographers, has at different times received the names of Davis' Southern Islands, Hawkins' Maiden-land, Sibald de Weert's Islands, Pepys' Island, Belgia Australis, Isles of St Louis, Malouines, Isles Nouvelles, and Falkland Islands.

† It has been already stated (above, p. 88) that these islands were discovered by Captain John Davis, and any lengthened discussion of Vespucci's claim were here out of place. It may be mentioned, that his voyages are involved in much doubt, and that better evidence than has yet been adduced must be brought forward before we can place implicit reliance on his alleged discoveries. The reader will find an instructive discussion on Vespucci in the Appendix No. ix. to Mr Washington Irving's History of Columbus (vol. iv. pp. 157, 191). We are certainly of the opinion expressed by Dr Robertson, that several years after the alleged voyage of Vespucci, the furthest extent of discovery did not exceed "thirty-five degrees south of the equator." It is singular that Malte Brun should have been ignorant of the theory put forward by Bougainville. "Permetty and Bougainville are of opinion," he says, "that these islands were discovered between the years 1700 and 1703, by five vessels that set out from Saint Malo; hence the origin of their French name."—

France having, on whatever grounds, recognised the claim now mentioned, M. de Bougainville received orders to proceed to the colony, and, after formally delivering it up to the Spaniards, to make his way to the East Indies by pursuing a course between the tropics. For this expedition he received the command of the frigate La Boudeuse, mounting twenty-six twelve-pounders, with power to reinforce himself at the Falklands by taking the storeship L'Etoile. He put to sea on the 15th of November 1766, but on the 21st was obliged, by stress of weather, to seek refuge in Brest. Here he made various alterations in the equipment of his vessel, in particular, exchanging his heavy cannon for the same number of eight-pounders. On the 5th December, he resumed his voyage, with a crew, consisting of eleven officers, three volunteers, and 203 sailors, warrant-officers, soldiers, cabin-boys, and servants. He was also accompanied by M. le Prince de Nassau Sieghen, who had obtained the king's permission to join the discoverers.

On the morning of the 31st of January 1767, he arrived at Monte Video, where he found two Spanish frigates commissioned to receive the formal cession of the Falklands. In company with these he sailed on the 28th of February, and on the evening of the 23d of March anchored off the islands. On

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Malte Brun (English Translation), vol. v. p. 482.—Since this note was written, the author has seen the Voyage autour du Monde of M. Duperrey, who has come to the same conclusion, that Vespucci did not discover the Falklands. M. Duperrey thinks that the land discovered by Vespucci was the New South Georgia of Cook, which he supposes to have been previously visited by La Roche and Duclos Guyot.—Voyage de la Coquille, Partie Historique, vol. i. p. 98.

the 1st April, he delivered the settlement to the proper officers, who took possession of it by hoisting their national standard, which, at sunrise and at sunset, was honoured with a salute of twenty-one guns as well from the shore as from the ships in the port. A letter from the French king was read to the colonists, granting them license to remain under the dominion of their new sovereign,—a permission of which several families availed themselves. The rest embarked in the Spanish vessels, which sailed for Monte Video in the end of April, leaving Bougainville to wait the arrival of the Etoile.

Before entering on the narrative of his voyage, it may be proper briefly to advert to the fate of the settlers on these contested islands. In November 1769, an English frigate, which cruised in those seas, fell in with a schooner belonging to Port Solidad, as the station was now named. The claims of the British captain were met by strong assertions of right on the side of the Spaniard; but the parties contented themselves with formal protests and declarations, and no hostilities ensued for some months. On the 4th of June 1770, a vessel of the same nation put into Port Egmont, under pretence of distress, but the arrival, three days after, of four other frigates, her consorts, speedily led to the disclosure of the real objects of the visit. This force consisted of five ships, bearing 134 guns and upwards of 1600 men, including a party of soldiers and marines, who were accompanied by a train of artillery, comprising twenty-seven pieces, besides four mortars and some hundred bombs. These extensive preparations are certainly placed in a ludicrous point of view, when it is mentioned that they were directed

against "a wooden block-house, which had not a port-hole cut in it, and only four pieces of cannon, which were sunk in the mud, to defend it."* The officer in command saw the impossibility of making any effectual resistance, and only waited the actual commencement of hostilities that he might demand articles of capitulation. These were concluded on the 10th of June; and shortly afterwards all the settlers embarked in the frigate, and reached this country in September. The intelligence of these transactions excited a strong sensation here, and the popular voice was loud in demanding redress for this act of injustice. Ministers were charged with meanness in tamely submitting to an insult on the nation, and several motions on the subject were made in parliament. After much negotiation, the matter was amicably arranged, by a declaration of the Spanish sovereign, that "he disavowed the said violent enterprise." At the same time he gave his consent that the English should be reinstated in the same condition as before the 10th of June,—coupled, however, with a reservation, that this concession should not anywise "affect the question of the prior right of sovereignty of the islands." In virtue of this explanation, Port Egmont was formally restored to the British, in September 1771; but the settlement, which had led to so much discussion, and nearly involved the country in war, was found so unprofitable, that it was abandoned the succeeding year. The history of the establishment which our government has recently made in these islands belongs to another part of our work.

* Annual Register for 1771, p. 9.

We now return to M. de Bougainville, who, having remained at the Falklands during the months of March, April, and May, 1767, without being joined by the store-ship that was to accompany him, at length set sail for Rio Janeiro in the beginning of June. This port had been appointed as a place of rendezvous in the event of L'Etoile failing to reach the Malouines; and on his arrival, he found that his consort had been in the harbour about a week. He continued there until the middle of July, when he proceeded to Monte Video; where he was so long detained by various accidents that he did not resume his voyage till the month of November was far advanced. The Cape de las Virgenes was made on the 2d December, and on the 23d of January 1768, he cleared the western entrance of the Straits of Magellan. During this passage, he had various interviews with the tribes, both on Tierra del Fuego and on the continent. In a group of Patagonians which he describes, there was none taller than five feet ten inches, nor below five feet five, French measure; which, being reduced to the English standard, gives as the greatest stature six feet 2·5704 inches, and as the smallest, five feet 10·334 inches. We are told at the same time, that the crew of L'Etoile had, on a previous voyage, seen several natives whose height exceeded by four inches that now stated.

His first object, on entering the Pacific, was to search for Davis' Land, which, like many previous navigators, he did not find. He then directed his course in a more westerly direction, and, on the 22d of March, discovered four small islands, to which he gave the name of Les Quatre Facar-

dins. The wind prevented him from approaching this group, and he therefore bore westward for a small island about four leagues distant. So heavy a sea broke on all sides, that it was found impossible to get ashore on this little spot, which, from the appearance of its inhabitants, was named L'Ile des Lanciers. At daybreak on the 23d, land was again visible; which, on examination, proved to be an islet in the shape of a horse-shoe very much elongated, whence he was induced to bestow on it the name of L'Ile de la Harpe. Captain Cook supposes Les Quatre Facardins to be identical with the Lagoon Island discovered in his first voyage, and L'Ile des Lanciers and L'Ile de la Harpe to be the same as his Thrum Cap and Bow Island.* In this hypothesis he has been followed by M. Fleurieu, Captain Beechey, and some other writers; but, much as we are disposed to respect his opinion, we cannot, in this instance, yield our assent. Bow Island and L'Ile de la Harpe are evidently one, and Les Quatre Facardins may with some probability be regarded as only another name for the Lagoon, though Cook's remark, that "the whole looked like many islands," is rather opposed to M. de Bougainville's description of "*quatre îlots.*" But our chief objection is to the identification of Thrum Cap with L'Ile des Lanciers. In the French officer's account of the latter, one of the most prominent features is the cocoa-tree. "Tout l'intérieur," says he, "étoit couvert de bois touffus, *au-dessus desquels s'élevoient les tiges fécondes des cocotiers;*" and again, "*Les cocotiers nous offroient partout leurs fruits,*

* General Introduction to Cook's Second Voyage, p. xviii. See below, pp. 305, 306.

*et leur ombre sur un gazon émaillé de fleurs."** Of Thrum Cap, Cook says, " Nor could we distinguish any cocoa-nut-trees, though we were within half a mile of the shore."† There is a still more material discrepancy in the extent of these islands; for while the one just named is described as " not much above a mile in compass,"‡ we are told that L'Ile des Lanciers is a league in diameter. Captain Beechey, in supporting the theory of Cook, mentions a circumstance which, had he attended to Bougainville's description, must have convinced him it could never apply to Thrum Cap. That island, the gallant captain remarked, was " well wooded, and *steep all round.*" As we approached L'Ile des Lanciers, says the Frenchman, " *we perceived that it was surrounded by a very level shore of sand.*"§ These striking differences lead us to the conclusion, that Thrum Cap is a discovery of which the honour is due to Cook, and that L'Ile des Lanciers must be sought for in some other island of the same archipelago.

On the 25th, La Boudeuse was near a very low island stretching from south-east to north-west, in length about twenty-four miles;‖ and for two days her course lay among several others, which, being partly overflowed and surrounded by rocks and breakers, rendered the navigation very perilous. To the whole, lying between Les Quatre Facardins and these last, was given the general name of

* Voyage, p. 179. † Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 73.

‡ Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 73. Captain Beechey says, " Thrum Cap is only 1700 yards long, by 1200 broad."—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 255, *et ibid.* 210.

§ " Nous découvrîmes qu'elle est bordé d'une plage de sable très unie."—Voyage, p. 179.

‖ " Vingt-quatre milles."—Voyage, p. 182. This is translated by J. R. Forster " twenty-four *leagues.*"

"L'Archipel Dangereux." Eleven were seen, but it was conjectured that there were many more, and M. de Bougainville was of opinion that Quiros discovered the south part of the chain in 1606, and that it is the same to which, in 1722, Roggewein gave the name of the Labyrinth.

The voyagers still pursued a westerly course, and, on the morning of the 2d of April, descried a high and very steep mountain, which they named Le Boudoir or Le Pic de la Boudeuse. This is the Maitea of our modern maps, the Osnaburg Island of Wallis, and probably the La Decena of Quiros. As they drew near, they beheld land more to the westward, of which the extent was undefined. They immediately bore down for this; but it was not until the morning of the 4th that they were sufficiently close to hold any communication with the inhabitants. These came off in their skiffs, and presented a small hog and a branch of banana in token of amity; and very soon after, the ships were surrounded with more than 100 canoes, engaged in a brisk traffic. The French voyager seems to have been as strongly impressed with the beauty of Otaheite as was his predecessor Wallis. "The aspect of the coast," says M. de Bougainville, "was very pleasing. The mountains rose to a great height, yet there was no appearance of barrenness, all parts were covered with woods. We could scarcely believe our eyes, when we beheld a peak clothed with trees, even to its solitary summit, which rose to the level of the mountains in the interior part of the isle. Its breadth grew gradually less towards the top, and at a distance it might have been taken for some pyramid of a vast height, which the hand of a tasteful deco-

rator had enwreathed with garlands of foliage. As we sailed along the coast, our eyes were struck with the sight of a beautiful cascade, which precipitated itself from the mountain-tops, and threw its foaming waters into the sea. A village was situated at the foot of the waterfall, and there appeared to be no breakers on the shores."*

On landing, he was received with mingled demonstrations of joy and curiosity; and the chief of the district forthwith conducted him to his residence. Here he found several women, who saluted him by laying their hands on their breasts, and repeating several times the word *tayo*. An old man, also an inmate of the mansion, seemed to be displeased with the appearance of the strangers, and withdrew without answering their courtesies, but he manifested neither fear, astonishment, nor curiosity. After having examined the house,† the navigator was invited to a repast of fruits, broiled fish, and water, on the grassy turf in front, and he received several presents of cloth and ornaments.

A proposal made by the stranger to erect a camp on shore was received with evident displeasure, and he was informed that though his crew were at liberty to stay on the island during the day, they must retire to their ships at night. On his wishes being farther urged, he was asked if he meant to remain for ever;

* Voyage, pp. 187, 188.

† During this examination, M. de Bougainville observed an image of one of the deities of the natives, and has given a very graphic description of it in his work. His translator, Mr J. R. Forster, in a note on this passage, denies the existence of idolatry in Otaheite, and with cool arrogance remarks, that "had M. de Bougainville looked upon many things with a *more philosophical* eye, his account would have proved less subject to mistakes."—P. 221. We need not say, that in this instance the mistake exists only in the "more philosophical eye" of the translator.

Dancing Woman of Otaheite.

to which he answered that he would depart in eighteen days. An ineffectual attempt was made by the natives to reduce the period to nine; but they at last consented, and at once resumed their former amicable bearing. The chief set apart a large shed for the accommodation of the sick; the women and children brought antiscorbutic plants and shells, when they learned that these were prized by the French; and the males gave their cheerful assistance in supplying the vessels with wood and water. Every house was open to the strangers, and the natives vied with each other in excess of hospitality. They welcomed them with songs and feasts, and exhibited their dances and wrestling-matches before them. "Often, as I walked into the interior,"

says Bougainville, "I thought I was transported into the garden of Eden; we crossed grassy plains covered with fair fruit-trees, and watered by small rivulets which diffused a delicious coolness around. Under the shade of the groves lay groups of the natives, all of whom gave us a friendly salutation; those whom we met in the paths stood aside that we might pass, and every where we beheld hospitality, peace, calm joy, and all signs of happiness."* But this paradise was perfect only in appearance; for the possessors of it were such accomplished pilferers, that nothing was safe within their reach. "We were obliged," says he, "to take care even of our pockets; for the thieves of Europe are not more adroit than the inhabitants of this country." Murder, too, was soon introduced into this Elysium; several of the islanders were found slain, and evidently by the arms of the Europeans; though the efforts of the captain were in vain exerted to discover the culprits. The natives shortly after withdrew from the neighbourhood of the camp, the houses were abandoned, no canoe was seen on the sea, and the whole island appeared like a desert. The Prince of Nassau, who was sent out with four or five men to search for the people, found a great number of them, with the chief Ereti, about a league distant. The leader approached the prince in great fear; while the women, who were all in tears, threw themselves on their knees and kissed his hands, weeping, and repeating several times, "*Tayo, mate!*" (You are our friends yet you kill us!) The prince succeeded in a short time in inspiring them with confidence, and their former

* Voyage, p. 198.

intercourse was renewed, even with greater demonstrations of kindness on the part of the savages.

The bad ground, which in nine days cost him six anchors, proved a powerful reason for shortening his stay. When the chief perceived them setting sail, he leaped into the first canoe he could find on shore and rowed to the vessel, where he embraced his visiters, and bade them farewell in tears. He took by the hand an islander who had come off in one of the skiffs, and presented him to the commander, stating, that his name was Aotourou, that he desired to go with him, and begging that his wish might be granted. The young man then embraced a handsome girl who seemed to be his mistress, gave her three pearls from his ears, kissed her once more, and, notwithstanding her grief, tore himself from her arms and leapt on board. "Thus," says Bougainville, "we quitted that good people; and I was no less surprised at the sorrow which our departure occasioned to them, than at the affectionate confidence they showed on our arrival." The French navigator testified his sense of the beauty and enchantments of this country by bestowing on it the name of Nouvelle Cythère, —an appellation which, like that given by his predecessor Wallis, has been supplanted by the native title of Otaheite.

As they continued their course westward, they discovered an island which Aotourou called Oumaitia, and which is, perhaps, identical with that of Sir Charles Saunders, one of the indigenous appellations of which is Maiaoiti.* It was now the

* Ellis' Polynesian Researches, 2d edition, vol. i. p. 8. The position assigned to Oumaitia does not agree, however, with the situation of Maiaoiti.

16th of April, and M. de Bougainville shaped his course so as to avoid the Pernicious Islands of Roggewein. One night when there was not a cloud in the sky, and the constellations shone in all their tropical brilliancy, Aotourou, pointing to a star in the shoulder of Orion, bade them direct their progress by it, and in two days they would reach a fruitful country which he knew, and where he had friends. Finding that his suggestions were not complied with, he endeavoured to seize the helm and turn the vessel towards the desired point. It was with great difficulty that he was quieted, and the refusal evidently gave him much sorrow. At daybreak he climbed to the topmast, and remained there the whole morning, looking steadfastly in the direction of the territory which he wished to reach. To the islands which he had passed since he quitted the Dangerous Archipelago, Bougainville gave the name of L'Archipel de Bourbon.

On the 3d of May, land was seen to the northwest, and, on a nearer approach, proved to be one of a cluster of islands, among which the French captain sailed several days. The information which he has collected regarding this group (the Bauman Islands of Roggewein) is, however, very scanty, and he may be said, indeed, to have effected nothing more than to give an assurance of its existence. The inhabitants spoke a language distinct from that of Otaheite, and appeared to belong to a different and more savage race. He named their abode L'Archipel des Navigateurs; and to a small island which he saw shortly after, he gave the appellation of L'Enfant Perdu.

At daybreak on the 22d, a long and high land

was discovered to the westward, and when the sun rose two islands were discerned and named Ile de la Pentecôte and Ile Aurore. As they sailed along the eastern coast of the latter, a small but very lofty eminence was seen; it resembled a sugar-loaf in shape, and was called Le Pic de l'Etoile.* Shortly after, some mountains were perceived towering above Aurora Island, and at sunset the voyagers were full in view of the coast of a high and very extensive land. In the morning they sailed along its north-west shore, which was steep and covered with trees; no huts were perceptible, but several canoes descried at a distance, and columns of smoke rising from the forests, showed that it was inhabited. About nine o'clock, a party was sent on shore to procure wood; they found the beach crowded with natives, who were armed with bows and arrows, and made signs to forbid their landing. As the French continued to advance, the savages gradually drew back, but still in the attitude of attack, and the distribution of a few pieces of red cloth only produced among them a sort of sullen confidence; they still kept to their arms and watched the voyagers with undisguised suspicion. M. de Bougainville landed in the afternoon to perform the ceremony of taking possession of the new territories, and the boats having completed their lading, the whole party received orders to return. Scarcely had they left the shore, when the natives advanced to the edge of the water and directed against

* This peak, in Bougainville's chart, is called *Pic de l'Averdi*,—a discrepancy we should not have noticed, had it not been transferred to the excellent chart prefixed to Captain Cook's second voyage, and thus apt to perplex the English reader.

them a shower of stones and arrows. A few muskets were fired into the air; but the savages still pressing on to the assault, a more deadly discharge was directed against them, and they fled into the woods with great cries. Bougainville divides these islanders into two classes,—black and mulatto. Their lips are thick; their hair woolly and frizzled; their bodies small, ugly, and ill made; and their language different from that of Otaheite. Their arms were bows and arrows, clubs of iron-wood, and slings for projecting stones; they wore ornaments in their nostrils, a sort of bracelets on their arms, and plates of turtle-shells on their necks. Their condition seemed to be very miserable; they appeared to be engaged in intestine war; and the harsh sound of a sort of drum was frequently heard in the interior of the woods calling them to the combat. From the prevalence of the loathsome disease of leprosy, Bougainville named this L'Isle des Lépreux. For several days he continued to sail among numerous islands, the inhabitants and general appearance of which exactly resembled that which he had visited. He was unable, however, to determine either the number in the cluster, or to examine any of them so closely as to warrant the imposing of separate names. He had no doubt that this archipelago was the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros, and even concluded that he had re-discovered the Bay of San Felipe y Santiago of that navigator.* Notwithstanding this conviction, he gave to the group the title of L'Archipel des grandes Cyclades,—a name which has been

* See above, p. 112.

superseded by that of New Hebrides bestowed by Cook. A late French geographer* has proposed a third designation, that of Archipel de Quiros, in honour of the first visiter.

While the voyagers were among the Grand Cyclades, a singular discovery was made on board the Etoile. The figure, voice, and beardless chin of Baré, the servant of M. de Commerçon the naturalist, had excited suspicions of his sex, which were removed only by the hardihood with which he endured toils and privations. The quick eyes of the Otaheitans, however, pierced his disguise the moment he set foot on shore; and after this recognition, finding it vain to attempt concealment any longer, Baré confessed to the captain that she was a woman, and told him the tale of her life. At an early age she became an orphan, and the loss of a lawsuit involved her in such distress as induced her to assume the dress of a man. She entered into the family of a Genevese gentleman at Paris, and served him as valet for some time; when, anxious to make the voyage of the world, she offered her services to M. de Commerçon at Rochefort, just as he was on the point of embarking. "Je lui dois la justice," says the commandant, "qu'elle s'est toujours conduite à bord avec la plus scrupuleuse sagesse. Elle n'est ni laide ni jolie, et n'a pas plus de vingt-six ou vingt-sept ans. Il faut convenir que si les deux vaisseaux eussent fait naufrage sur quelque île déserte de ce vaste océan, la chance eût été fort singulière pour Baré."†

M. de Bougainville lost sight of the Grand Cyclades on the 29th of May, and continued to bear

* Abrégé de Géographie, par Adrien Balbi, p. 1267.
† Voyage, p. 254.

nearly due west till the night of the 4th of June, when the moon enabled him to discover that he was in the vicinity of a low sandy coast. As morning advanced, he found it to be a small islet, nearly level with the water; he named it La Bâture de Diane. Next day, several pieces of wood and some unknown fruits floated by the ship, and on the 6th many shoals and rocks were perceived. These appearances induced him to alter his course to the north, in which direction he stood for three days without seeing land. Long before dawn, however, on the morning of the 10th, a delicious odour indicated that he was approaching a coast, and with the increase of light he found himself in a large and beautiful gulf, to which he gave the name of Cul-de-sac de l'Orangerie. "I have seldom seen," says he, "a country of a fairer aspect. A low land, chequered with plains and groves, spread along the margin of the sea, and rose in an amphitheatre to the mountains in the interior, whose heads were hid in clouds. But the melancholy condition to which we were brought, did not allow of our visiting this magnificent country." He once more altered his course, and steered to the eastward along the shore of this new land, which he coasted until the 25th, when, having doubled its eastern point, which he named Cap de la Délivrance, he saw towards the north an open sea, into which he gladly entered. He gave the name of Louisiade to this discovery, of which he ascertained little more than the existence, and which is still very imperfectly known.

On the 28th, land was once more perceived in the north-west, which, on a closer approach next day, was found to consist of two islands. The inhabit-

ants were perfectly black; their hair was curled and long, and stained of various colours, white, yellow, and red; they wore bracelets, and small plates of a white substance on their necks and foreheads; they were armed with bows and spears; and their cries and general demeanour indicated a warlike disposition. The boats, in searching for an anchorage, found a capacious bay, into which a river discharged itself; but, while engaged in examining it, they were assailed by about 150 of the natives, embarked in ten canoes. These savages fought with much bravery, but were soon put to flight, and two of their skiffs captured. One of them had carved on it the head of a man, the eyes being mother-of-pearl, the ears of tortoise-shell, and the lips stained of a very bright scarlet; the appearance, on the whole, was that of a mask with a very long beard. The jaw of a man, half broiled, was found in one of the canoes. In noticing this affray, Bougainville makes an observation which has been amply verified by succeeding navigators: "We have observed throughout this voyage, that the savages of a black complexion are generally more barbarous than those tribes that approach more nearly to white." The bay where this attack took place, and the land to which it belonged, were named Ile et Baie Choiseul, and the island has since been identified as one of the Solomons of Mendana, the Arsacides of Surville, and the New Georgia of Shortland.

He now determined to seek a passage through the channel which seemed to divide the two islands, and soon had the satisfaction to find that it was a strait which gradually opened as he proceeded. It was named Bougainville's Straits, and a current at the

southern entrance received the appellation of Raz Denis. On the morning of the 3d July, the island of Choiseul was no longer visible, and he stood along the shore of the western land just called after himself, which rose into very high mountains, and was terminated towards the south-west by a lofty promontory, denominated Capl'Averdi. Land was again perceived still farther to the north-west, and distinctly separated from the cape just described by a strait or gulf. Some of the natives came near the ship, and continued to cry out, "Bouca! Bouca! Onellé!" from which the Frenchman designated their island Bouca. It is believed to be the same with the Anson or Winchelsea Island of Carteret, and is remarkable for the density of its population.* The inhabitants had their ears pierced and drawn down; and many had their hair stained red, and white spots painted on different parts of their bodies. Their canoes were smaller, and of a different construction from those of Choiseul. On the afternoon of the 5th, two diminutive islands were perceived towards the north and north-west; and almost at the same moment, a larger one between north-west and west, which also presented the appearance of several good bays. He immediately shaped his course in that direction, and on the evening of the 6th anchored in a capacious inlet. A few days after, a piece of a leaden plate was found, having inscribed on it

. . . . . HOR'D HERE
. . . . . ICK MAJESTY'S

and curiosity having been thus awakened, a farther search discovered numerous and recent marks of the

* See above, p. 239.

visit of an English vessel. In fact, Bougainville was now on the coast of New Ireland, and the harbour in which he was moored, and which he had called Port Praslin, was within two leagues of that which Carteret had examined, and distinguished by his own name.

He remained here till the 24th, when, ignorant of the passage which had been discovered between New Britain and New Ireland, he stood to the north, and then sailed westward along the coast of the latter. He passed the north-western extremity of this country in the beginning of August, and on the 8th saw a low flat island about three leagues long, covered with trees. It was called Anachoret's or Hermit's Isle; and a cluster of low islands, among which they were entangled the next day, received the name of L'Echiquier or the Chessboard. On leaving these they discovered the high shores of New Guinea, which they continued to coast till the end of the month, when they entered the group of the Moluccas; and early in September anchored at the island of Boero, where they were hospitably received by the Dutch governor.

From this they sailed on the 7th, and in three weeks reached Batavia, "one of the finest colonies in the world," says Bougainville, "and where we looked on each other as having terminated our voyage." The native of Otaheite who accompanied them, perhaps estimated that city more justly, when he described it as "*enoua maté*"—(the land which kills). On the 16th of October, they again set sail, and having touched at the Isle of France and the Cape of Good Hope, reached the island of Ascension on the 4th of February 1769. They learned that Captain Carteret had departed hence only five days before their arrival, and, as has been already men-

tioned, they succeeded in overtaking him before he reached Britain.* On the 16th of March, the discoverers entered the port of Saint Malo, "having," says their commander, "lost only seven men during the two years and four months which had elapsed since we left Nantes:—

"'Puppibus et læti nautæ imposuere coronas.'"

The interest excited in Paris by the appearance

* In the Memoirs of Dr Burney by his daughter, Madame D'Arblay, London, 1832, 3 vols 8vo, occurs this passage:—"The following note upon Captain Cook is copied from a memorandum-book of Dr Burney's:—'In February, I had the honour of receiving the illustrious Captain Cook to dine with me in Queen Square, previously to his second voyage round the world. Observing upon a table *Bougainville's Voyage autour du Monde*, he turned it over, *and made some curious remarks on the illiberal conduct of that circumnavigator towards himself when they met and crossed each other*, which made me desirous to know, in examining the chart of M. de Bougainville, the several tracks of the two navigators, and exactly where they had crossed or approached each other. *Captain Cook instantly took a pencil from his pocket-book, and said he would trace the route; which he did in so clear and scientific a manner, that I would not take fifty pounds for the book!*'"—Vol. i. pp. 270, 271. While we admire the Doctor's enthusiastic adoration of this relic of Cook, we cannot help smiling at his ignorance. He must have totally misunderstood his "curious remarks," elucidated as they were by the pencil-sketch. *Cook and Bougainville never "met or crossed each other,"* as the Doctor might have known if he had carefully read the book on which he put so high a value. The time during which Cook and Bougainville were at sea together extends from 26th August 1768, to 16th March 1769. At the first of these dates the former left England, and on the same day the latter crossed the line in the neighbourhood of New Guinea. In September, Cook was at Madeira, and Bougainville at Batavia, where he remained till the 16th of October. On the 7th December, the Englishman left Rio Janeiro, and on the 12th the other departed from the Isle of France. On the 14th January 1769, Cook entered Strait Le Maire, and a few days after, the Frenchman doubled the Cape of Good Hope. He arrived in France on the 16th of March, at which time Cook was in the South Sea. At no time were they much nearer one another than half the circumference of the globe. Cook's remarks may have applied to the meeting of *Carteret* and Bougainville (above, p. 243); but the tale is so incorrectly told, that any further comment were useless.

of the Otaheitan who had accompanied the voyagers to Europe was very great; and, says the leader of the expedition, I spared neither money nor trouble to render his visit agreeable and useful to him. The account which has been left of his emotions and conduct, in a scene and under circumstances to him so extraordinary, is unfortunately very defective and meagre. Mr Forster, the translator of Bougainville, tells us it cannot be denied, that Aotourou "was one of the most stupid fellows; which not only has been found by Englishmen who saw him at Paris during his stay there, and whose testimony would be decisive with the public were I at liberty to name them, but the very countrymen of Aotourou were, without exception, all of the same opinion, that he had very moderate parts, if any at all."* The same opinion seems to have been entertained by many of the Parisians; and though the commanding officer combats it warmly, he has certainly failed to adduce any proof of even moderate intelligence or capability in his barbarian ward. The only sight which roused his curiosity was the opera. Of this we are told he was passionately fond,—knew well on what days the house was open,—and went there alone, paying at the door like any ordinary visiter.

In March 1770, he left Paris, and embarked at Rochelle on board a vessel bound for the Isle of France, from which the government engaged to convey him to his native island. Bougainville very liberally contributed thirty-six thousand francs (about £1500 sterling), the third part of his fortune, towards the fitting out of this expedition; and

* Forster's Translation, p. 265, note.

the Duchess of Choiseul expended a considerable sum in purchasing cattle, tools, and seeds, to be taken out to Otaheite. Aotourou arrived in safety at the Isle of France, which he left on the 18th of October 1771, on board the Mascarin, commanded by M. Marion du Fresne, who had also under his orders a ship called the Marquis de Castries conducted by M. du Clesmeur. Marion's instructions were to convey Aotourou (or, as he is called in the account of this voyage, Mayoa) to Otaheite; then to explore the Southern Pacific in search of new lands; and, finally, to examine more closely the lately re-discovered islands of New Zealand. At the island of Bourbon, the Otaheitan was attacked by the smallpox, of which disease he died shortly afterwards at Madagascar. Marion then pursued his voyage to the south-east; and, in the course of it, he discovered a few small islands, of which the chief are Cavern, Marion, and Marion and Crozet. On the 10th of February 1772, he arrived at Van Diemen's Land; on the 24th he made Cape Egmont, on New Zealand; and shortly after anchored in the Bay of Islands. The horrible massacre, which took place here, of M. Marion and twenty-six of his crew, is too well known. After that catastrophe, the survivors steered for the islands of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, two of the Tonga or Friendly group, and, without having made any discovery, visited the Ladrones and the Philippines, and then returned to the Isle of France.

This expedition was so closely connected with the recent enterprise from the same nation, that though a little inconsistent with strict chronological

arrangement, we have given it a place here instead of inserting it after the first voyage of Cook. For a similar reason, and to preserve uninterrupted the narrative of the discoveries of our great countryman, we shall here notice the endeavours of Surville and Shortland, both of which bear an intimate relation to the navigations of Carteret and Bougainville.

The enterprise of Surville had for its object a commercial speculation, the nature of which it is not now easy to develop. M. de Fleurieu, to whom the public are indebted for the most complete history of it,* has alluded to the motives with a haste and brevity which seem to indicate a desire that something should be concealed or forgotten. This may be considered as a partial corroboration of the account of the Abbé Rochon,† who maintains that this officer was sent out to discover a new El Dorado,—a marvellous island, abounding with gold, and riches, and fine cloths, and inhabited by Jews,—reported to have been lately seen by the English about seven hundred leagues west from the coast of Peru. The acute and learned author of the French Discoveries may well be supposed anxious not to promulgate that his countrymen, in the days of Cook, listened to a tale better fitted for the dark times and heated imaginations of the earliest adventurers; when Juan Ponce de Leon sailed in search of the Fountain of Youth; when golden regions were sought for every day; and when the lost tribes of Israel were so often found in the islands of the Caribbean Sea, or on the shores of Tierra Firmé. Whatever was the aim

* Découvertes des Français dans le sud-est de la Nouvelle Guinée. Paris, 1790.

† Voyages à Madagascar et aux Indes Orientales. Paris, 1791.

of Surville, the results of his voyage, in a scientific point of view, were most important. If he found not the fairy land he sought, he mainly contributed to restore to Europeans a knowledge of the Islands of Solomon, which, since their discovery by Mendana in 1567, had so often eluded the search of the most active navigators, that their very existence had become doubtful.

Having completed his cargo, he sailed from Pondicherry on the 2d of June 1769, in the Saint Jean Baptiste, a vessel of seven hundred tons, carrying twenty-six twelve-pounders and six smaller cannons. He directed his course towards the Philippines, which he passed, and, holding northward, arrived in the end of August at the Bashee Islands. On quitting these, he steered towards the south-east, with the intention of entering the South Sea in the neighbourhood of New Guinea. He crossed the Line on the 23d September, and on the 5th October was in latitude 4° 38′ south. Frequent signs of land had been perceived for some days; and on the 7th an island was seen, which was named Ile de la Première Vue, and on the succeeding day a country of great extent presented itself. He continued to sail along the coast till the 13th, when he reached an excellent harbour, which he called Port Praslin. Here he anchored, and remained nine days in the expectation of getting a supply of water and refreshments, of which his crew, though the vessel had been victualled for three years, stood already much in need. These hopes, however, were in a great degree baffled by the treachery and hostility of the savages, which soon led to a battle in which Surville acted a part of questionable propriety.

Not contented with having dispersed the natives by several murderous discharges of fire-arms, he formed the resolution of taking some of them prisoners; and, in prosecution of this design, did not hesitate to fire into a canoe, although the people on board seemed inclined to peace. He killed one, and succeeded in securing another, a lad about fifteen years of age, whom he named Lova Sarega, and carried with him. Having procured a few necessaries he left Port Praslin on the 21st, designating the country to which it belonged Terre des Arsacides or Assassins, with a view to express the fierce character of the inhabitants, who, in dress, arms, manners, and physical conformation, resembled those described by Bougainville at Choiseul Island. The Land of the Assassins is, indeed, identified as belonging to the great archipelago of the Solomons, discovered by Mendana.

It was the 6th of November before he cleared the southern point of this insular territory, of which the knowledge he obtained was very limited. The island which he named Inattendue is supposed to be the same that Carteret had seen, and called Gower. On the 30th of October, he observed another, which received the appellation of L'Ile des Contrariétés, and on the 3d of November, he descried three small ones, called by him Les Trois Sœurs. His other discoveries were, a diminutive island named Ile du Golfe; two called Iles de la Délivrance; and the southern extremity of the Land of the Arsacides, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cap Oriental.*

* It has been proposed to call this cape after its discoverer, and it seems but reasonable that his name should be connected with some part of the archipelago. Cook, in his Second Voyage (3d edit. vol. ii. p. 267), falls into an error in representing Surville to have given "his own name" to the land he discovered.

On the 7th, he lost sight of these shores, and directed his course to New Zealand, where he arrived on the 16th of December, at the very time that Cook was beating about the coast. Close, however, as they were to each other, the voyagers did not meet; and, on the 1st January 1770, Surville left the island. All hopes of finding the fabled land were already abandoned; death and disease had made sad havock among his crew; and the only object now entertained was to reach some European settlement to save the survivors, who were hardly able, even with the assistance of the officers, to hand the sails. In April, they arrived at Callao; and the captain, anxious for an interview with the Spanish governor to solicit the assistance he so much needed, rashly put off in a small boat, and perished in the surf.

Scanty as was the information regarding the archipelago of the Solomon Isles acquired by this commander and his predecessors, Carteret and Bougainville, their eastern coasts had, nevertheless, been delineated with some degree of accuracy; and the voyage of Lieutenant Shortland, while guarding a fleet of transports from New South Wales to England, served to determine the leading features of the western shores.* This officer left Port Jackson on the 14th July 1788, and on the 31st, at noon, discovered land nearly in the same latitude with Surville's Cap Oriental, and bestowed on it the appellation of Cape Sidney. He continued to sail along this coast till the 7th of August, giving names to the more prominent capes and bays, but obtaining no certain intelligence of the nature or extent of the

* A narrative of this expedition will be found in "The Voyage of Governor Philip to Botany Bay. London, 1789," 4to, p. 183-221.

land. An interview with the natives showed, that they agreed in all points with the descriptions of the French navigators. On quitting this archipelago he sailed through Bougainville's Straits, and, continuing his course to the north-west, visited the Pelew Islands, and arrived at Batavia on the 18th of November. Conceiving the lands he had seen to be a new discovery, he conferred on them the appellation of New Georgia, and bestowed on the channel through which he passed the name of Shortland's Straits. But in no long time, when their position was more minutely examined, it became evident that the countries observed by him belonged to the same group with the Terre des Arsacides and the Isle Choiseul. The names imposed by the English were then dropped; the absurd title given by Surville was also abandoned; and geographers now recognise this cluster by the name of "The Solomons," bestowed by its first visiter, Mendana.

Having traced the progress of discovery in the Pacific Ocean during two centuries and a half, it may now be convenient to pause; and, before proceeding to the history of the greatest navigator that ever sailed on its waters, survey what had been already accomplished, and what still remained to be done.

Numerous as were the expeditions into the South Sea, by far the greater portion of it was yet unexplored. Northwards of the Equator one track only was followed,—namely, that between Mexico, or New Spain, and the Philippines, about the latitude of 15° N.; and from this line little variation was made, nor was there any attempt to examine the unknown sea on either side. The great expanse

of the Pacific south of the Line had indeed been more extensively navigated; yet, with one exception, the courses of the several voyagers lay within very narrow limits. The discoveries of Quiros were between 10° and 25° of south latitude; Schouten's route was nearly in the parallel of 15° S.; Roggewein's was almost coincident; and Mendana's never lay far from 10° S. The most distant land in that direction reached by Wallis was Whitsunday Island, in 19° S.; Carteret attained a higher latitude, and saw Pitcairn's Island, in 25°; but the remotest discovery of Byron was the group of the Disappointment Islands, in 14° S. To the north of the Equator, Carteret effected nothing; Byron was equally unsuccessful; and the most northerly position brought to light by Wallis, was the island, in 13° 18' S., which received his own name. Bougainville's range lay between 19° S., the latitude of Les Quatre Facardins, and 5° S., the parallel of Bouca. These were the only voyagers (with the exception of Magellan) who followed new tracks; and it will be seen that they confined themselves to the space between the Line and the twenty-fifth degree of south latitude.

The many other navigators whose exploits are recounted in these pages, more intent on the acquisition of Spanish gold than on the search for unknown regions, almost invariably pursued one common and well-frequented path. On entering the Pacific, they stood for Juan Fernandez, in order to recover their health, or replace their stores; they then coasted the American continent to California; after which, they either retraced their way to the Atlantic by Cape Horn or the Straits, or more usually crossed the South Sea in the track of the Manilla galleon. Such was the route of Drake, Cavendish, Van Noort,

Spilbergen, the Nassau Fleet, the English Buccaneers, Dampier, Rogers, Clipperton, Shelvocke, and Anson.

The only adventurer into a high southern latitude was Tasman. Entering the Pacific from the Indian Ocean, he advanced to about 44° and discovered Van Diemen's Land. Thence, pursuing nearly the same parallel, he stood eastward till he encountered New Zealand, and, sailing along its western shores, bore northward till he got into the track of Schouten; having discovered in his passage the Tonga Islands, on the confines of the Tropic.

From this recapitulation, it will be seen, that of the Southern Pacific there remained altogether unknown the great space bounded on the north by the twenty-fifth parallel of latitude, and by the meridians of long. 85° W. and 170° E. No vessel had yet attempted to traverse this wide extent, and, consequently, with respect to it there prevailed the utmost uncertainty and ignorance. A learned geographer writes in 1771, "So far as to absolute experience, we continue ignorant whether the southern hemisphere be an immense mass of water, or whether it contains another continent and countries worthy of our search."* The portion of the Northern Pacific which remained unexplored was, perhaps, still more extensive.

Such were the mighty tracts concerning which nothing had been ascertained. There were, besides, several spacious regions, of which certain navigators had indeed announced the existence, but who stopped short before the extent was brought to light. Of New Holland, only the western side was known; the

* Dalrymple, Hist. Coll. vol. ii.—"Investigation of what may be farther expected in the South Sea," p. 12.

northern limit (the strait discovered by Torres in 1606) had passed into oblivion, and this great country was generally represented as joining New Guinea; on the south, there was no certainty whether it extended to Van Diemen's Land, or where its termination should be fixed; to the east, it was involved in utter darkness; one point only was clear, that it did not stretch beyond long. 170°, being nearly the meridian of Tasman's track. The limits of New Zealand were still more indefinite. Only its western shores had been visited, and, for all that was then known, it might have extended eastward to within 15° of Chili. Mr Dalrymple remarks, that it is "still a question if Staats' Land, or New Zealand, be part of a continent or only islands; though it is most probably the former, as Tasman supposes it to be."

In short, the great problem of geography, the existence of a vast SOUTHERN CONTINENT, was still unsolved. The discoveries of succeeding years had no doubt much circumscribed the bounds assigned to it in the sixteenth century; yet within the unvisited bosom of the Pacific there still remained ample space for a country exceeding Europe in dimensions, and surpassing, even in its most high and palmy state, the widest empire ever seen in either hemisphere. Nor with the believers in this land was its extent its only merit. Its fancied splendour and fertility were to cast into the shade all that had been told of Mexico or Peru; for here was to be found the original fountain of their civilisation, the parent-country of the first Inca! And to the nation that should discover it there was promised an accession of wealth and power greater than had flowed to Spain from the conquests of Cortes and Pizarro.

COOK.

CHAPTER VIII.

Life of Cook previous to his First Voyage.

Birth and Parentage of Cook—His Education—His Indentures with a Draper—Apprenticeship on board a Collier—Volunteers into the Navy—Appointed Master of the Mercury—His Services at Quebec—Hairbreadth Escape—He first studies Euclid—His Marriage—Made Marine Surveyor of Newfoundland and Labrador—Communicates an Observation of an Eclipse to the Royal Society—History of the Transits of Venus—Predicted in 1629 by Kepler—Discovery and Observation of Horrox—First Appreciation of its Uses—Professor James Gregory—Dr Edmund Halley—His Exhortation to future Astronomers—Transit of 1761—Preparations for that of 1769—Proposal to send a Ship with Observers to the South Sea—Cook promoted to the Rank of Lieutenant, and appointed to conduct it—His Choice of a Vessel—Sir Joseph Banks determines to join the Expedition—Preparations and Instructions for the Voyage.

James Cook was the son of humble parents. His father, also named James, and supposed from his dialect to be a Northumbrian, was a labourer or farm-servant, and his mother was of the same rank. Both of them were highly esteemed by their neighbours for their integrity, temperance, and industry. They appear to have resided, first at the village of Morton, in the North Riding of Yorkshire; afterwards at Marton in Cleveland, a

small place in the same county, situated between Gisborough and Stockton-upon-Tees. Here, in a mud-cottage, every vestige of which has long been swept away, the subject of this memoir was born on the 27th of October 1728. He was one of nine children, none of whom survived their parents, excepting himself and a daughter, of whose history nothing is recorded but that she was married to a fisherman at Redcar, and that her home became the abode of her father in the latter part of his life, which was extended to the long term of nearly eighty-five years.

Cook was taught his letters by the village-schoolmistress, Dame Walker. When he was eight years old, his father was appointed hind, head-servant, or bailiff, on the farm of Airy Holme, the property of Thomas Scottowe, Esq., near Great Ayton, at the foot of Roseberry Topping; and in the school of this place, at the expense of his father's employer, he learned writing and the rules of arithmetic.

At the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a draper, in the fishing-town of Staiths, about ten miles north of Whitby; but this employment little accorded with the bent of his disposition, which now developed itself in a strong passion for the sea. A quarrel having occurred between him and his master, his indentures were given up, and he bound himself for seven years to Messrs John and Henry Walker, owners of two vessels in the coal-trade. These worthy Quakers early appreciated his good conduct and great anxiety to acquire skill in his profession; and after he had served on board the Freelove, and for a short time in another ship, they promoted him to be mate of the Three Brothers.

Promises were made to him of farther preferment; but to these, as his thoughts were already turned to a loftier sphere, he seems to have given little heed. Mr John Walker, one of his employers, remarked, that "he had always an ambition to go into the navy."* It was not observed by those who knew him at this period, that he was anywise distinguished for talent; but no one can doubt that his active mind was then laying the foundations of future eminence, or that much of the skill in practical navigation, which he afterwards displayed, was acquired in that admirable nursery of seamen,—the coasting-trade.

Early in 1755, on the commencement of hostilities with France, there was an active impressment in the Thames. Cook, then in his twenty-seventh year, happened to be in a vessel on the river, and was at first desirous to conceal himself; but, after some hesitation, he resolved to go into the service, and proceeded to Wapping, where he entered as a volunteer on board the Eagle of sixty guns, Captain Hamer. Shortly afterwards, Captain Hugh Palliser succeeded that officer; and quickly discerning the young man's superior seamanship, afforded him every encouragement, rated him quarter-master, and from that time continued to be his steady patron. Letters in his favour from friends in Yorkshire,—among whom was Mr Osbaldeston, the parliamentary representative of Scarborough,—arrived in the course of a few months, and his commander obtained for him a warrant as

* Memoir of Cook, by Edward Hawke Locker, Esq., in the "Gallery of Greenwich Hospital," (London, 1831) part i. With the amiable Quakers, his first friends, Cook "maintained a correspondence to the last year of his existence."

master of the Mercury frigate, dated the 15th of May 1759. In allusion to similar commissions for the Grampus and the Garland, both rendered abortive by unforeseen circumstances, Dr Kippis remarks, "These quick and successive appointments show that his interest was strong, and that the intention to serve him was real and effectual."*

The Mercury received orders to join the fleet, which, under Sir Charles Saunders, was in co-operation with General Wolfe, at that time engaged in the siege of Quebec. A combined attack on the fortified position at Montmorency and Beauport had been concerted; but it was necessary, in the first place, to procure accurate soundings of the St Lawrence, between L'Ile d'Orléans and the shore on which the French army lay. This, a service of great danger, which could only be performed during the night, was, on the recommendation of Captain Palliser, intrusted to Cook, who discharged it in the most complete manner. He had scarcely achieved his task when he was discovered by the enemy, who launched a number of canoes filled with Indians to surround and cut him off. He instantly made for the British encampment, but was so closely pursued that the savages entered the stern of his barge as he leapt from the bow under the protection of the English sentinels. The boat was carried off in triumph; but Cook was able, in the words of one of his biographers, "to furnish the admiral with as correct a draught of the channel and soundings as could have been made after our countrymen were in possession of Quebec." There was reason to suppose that before this period he was entirely ignorant of draw-

* Biographia Britannica (2d edition), vol. iv. p. 101.

ing, having seldom or never handled a pencil; and if this conjecture be well founded it affords a striking proof of his capacity and perseverance. Not long afterwards he was employed to make a survey of the whole river below Quebec; and his chart was executed with such skill and exactness that it was immediately published by orders of the Admiralty.*

His merits now began to attract general attention, and, on the 22d of September 1759, Lord Colville appointed him master of his own ship, the Northumberland, in which he remained on the Halifax station during the winter. He must have long felt the difficulties under which he laboured from his defective education; and we learn that he now took advantage of a little leisure, afforded by the season, to instruct himself in the branches of science most necessary to his profession. "It was here, as I have often heard him say," writes Captain King, "that, during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance than

* Besides these important duties, if we could trust the companion of his last voyage, Cook was employed in others of still greater consequence. "At the siege of Quebec," it is said, "Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency; conducted the embarkation to the heights of Abraham; examined the passage and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river."—Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere (2d edition, London, 1785), vol. iii. p. 47. For this statement, no other authority has been observed than that of Captain King, whose sketch of Cook's life is meagre and defective. No allusion is made to it in the minute narrative of Dr Kippis; and, as he wrote from the information of Sir Hugh Palliser and other friends of our navigator, his silence must be regarded as conclusive. The passage, indeed, appears to be a vague exaggeration of the real services of Cook,—to which, it should be noted, there is no other reference made by Captain King.

what a few books and his own industry afforded him."* He accompanied his lordship to Newfoundland in September following; aided in its recapture from the French; and by the diligence which he exhibited in surveying the harbour and heights of Placentia, secured the favourable notice of the governor of the island.

He returned to England about the close of the year; and, on the 21st December 1762, married Miss Elizabeth Batts, at Barking in Essex,—a woman of an amiable and generous disposition, from whose society, however, he was quickly called away.†

In the beginning of 1763, Captain Graves, who, during Cook's visit, had been governor of Newfoundland, was again appointed to that office; and being desirous to procure accurate surveys of the colony, he made proposals to our navigator, which were willingly accepted. Towards the close of the year he returned home; but his stay on this occasion was as short as on the former, for his old friend, Sir Hugh Palliser, being selected to superintend that settlement, and Cook having agreed to resume his situation, he was, on the 18th of April 1764, nominated

* Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. iii. p. 47. Captain King places this event under the year 1758; but, as he mentions that Cook was at that time master of the Northumberland, the date of his appointment to that vessel shows that it must have been in the succeeding winter. At the time when the future discoverer thus began his second education he was in his thirty-first year.

† An absurd story is told by some of the biographers of Cook, that he "was godfather to his wife; and at the very time she was christened, had determined, if she grew up, on the union which afterwards took place between them." This tale, as we were assured by the late Mr Isaac Cragg-Smith, a relative of Mrs Cook, is without the slightest foundation; the two families were at the time unacquainted,—the one residing in the suburbs of the metropolis, the other in Yorkshire, where Cook, then only thirteen years old, was serving his apprenticeship.

marine surveyor. In the discharge of this duty he continued four years, occasionally returning to England, and spending the winter there. The manner in which he executed his commission called forth the highest approbation. He explored the interior of the country more fully than had been hitherto done, making several valuable additions to geography; and the charts which he afterwards published were distinguished by unusual correctness. During this period also, he furnished evidence of his success in the study of practical astronomy, by "An Observation of an Eclipse of the Sun at the Island of Newfoundland, August 5, 1766, with the longitude of the place of observation deduced from it," communicated to the Royal Society by Dr J. Bevis, and read 30th April 1767. It occupies only two pages in the Transactions, and is evidently a report drawn up by the Doctor,—Cook having probably been in England when he imparted his notes to that gentleman. This is consistent with the remark of Dr Kippis, who speaks of the year 1767 as "the last time that he went out upon his station of marine surveyor of Newfoundland."*

* In Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica, in Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary, and in some other memoirs of Cook, there is attributed to him an octavo pamphlet, which was published in the year 1769, under the title of "Remarks on a Passage from the River Balise, in the Bay of Honduras, to Merida, the Capital of the Province of Jucatan, in the Spanish West Indies, by Lieutenant Cook." This journey he is said to have performed in 1765, with despatches from the admiral on the Jamaica station to the Governor of Jucatan, relative to the logwood-cutters in the Bay of Honduras. But at that time, as has been stated, he was engaged in his survey of Newfoundland; and in 1769, when the tract appeared, he was in the South Sea. In reply to inquiries made in regard to this pamphlet, Mr Isaac Cragg-Smith, after consulting with Mrs Cook, assured us she was entirely ignorant of it, and that her husband had never been in the Bay of Honduras.

At this period the attention of men of science in all parts of the world was eagerly turned to an important astronomical phenomenon, the observation of which must be considered as a leading event in the life of Captain Cook, as it gave a new direction and a higher object to his genius.

This was the passage of Venus across the sun. The transits of the planets were little regarded until Kepler, in a work published at Leipsic in 1629, aroused the curiosity of astronomers, by predicting that the solar disk would appear to be traversed by Mercury in 1631, and by Venus in the same year, and a second time in 1761. Before any part of this announcement could be verified, its illustrious author died (in November 1630); but the transit of Mercury was observed by Gassendi at Paris within a day of the time foretold;* that of Venus, unfortunately, was not visible to him, having taken place while the sun was under the horizon. This he must have lamented the more, as Kepler had predicted that a century would pass before the recurrence of a similar phenomenon. But a young English astronomer, Jeremiah Horrox, having been led to turn his thoughts towards the subject, discovered, that on the 4th December 1639, Venus would again pass across the sun. This information he communicated to his correspondent, William Crabtree; and, on the day mentioned, these two friends,—the one near Liverpool the other at Manchester,—beheld a spectacle, of which, among all the learned men in Europe, they were the only witnesses. Horrox wrote

* The phenomenon was seen by several astronomers; but Gassendi was the only one who published an account of his observations in a tract entitled "De Mercurio in Sole Viso et Venere Invisa, Parisiis, 1631, pro admonitione Kepleri, &c. Par. 1632, 4to."

an account of his observations, but dying within a few days after (on 3d January 1640), more than twenty years elapsed before his work was published.*

As yet, however, no one had clearly discerned the uses to which this phenomenon has since been applied in the discovery of one of the most important truths in the range of science. By observations made at distant points on the globe, the astronomer obtains the means of determining the *Sun's Parallax*, or the angle which the earth's semidiameter subtends at the sun, by means of which he can ascertain the distance of the one body from the other. The honour of first pointing out this important application has been commonly ascribed to Edmund Halley, though it is certain that he was anticipated by one whose name is no less distinguished,—James Gregory, the inventor of the Reflecting Telescope, and the first Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. So early as 1663, this eminent mathematician, then about twenty-four years of age, proposed and solved the question,—"From the apparent conjunction of two planets to find out their parallaxes;" to which he annexed the scholium:—"This problem, though attended with considerable labour, may be productive of the most admirable advantages, by observing the passage of Venus or Mercury over the solar disk, *for thereby the Parallax of the Sun may be discovered.*"† This passage demonstrates that its au-

* It was entitled, "Venus in Sole Visa, anno 1639," and first appeared in the "Mercurius in Sole Visus" of Hevelius, published at Dantzic in 1662.

† "*Problema.*—Ex duorum Planetarum conjunctione corporali utriusque planetæ Parallaxes investigare.——*Scholium.*—Hoc Problema pulcherrimum habet usum, sed forsan laboriosum, in observationibus Veneris, vel Mercurii particulam Solis obscurantis:

thor was fully aware of the benefits to be derived from this rare occurrence, and that Halley was not the first to appreciate them. Still, to that philosopher is due the merit of satisfactorily elucidating the theory of transits, of directing attention towards them, and impressing upon astronomers the vast importance of the results to be obtained from a careful observation. His thoughts were called to the subject in the year 1677, during his residence at St Helena for the purpose of examining the stars of the Southern Hemisphere. There happened at that period a transit of Mercury, which he observed with the utmost care. Contrary to his expectation, he was enabled to fix the very instant in which the planet, entering the sun's limb, seemed to touch it internally, as also that in which it went off. He thus ascertained the amount of time occupied by the passage of Mercury over the sun's disk, "without an error of a single second;" for, as he informs us, "the thread of solar light intercepted between the obscure limb of the planet and the bright limb of the sun, though exceedingly slender, affected the sight; and, in the twinkling of an eye, both the indenture made on the sun's limb by Mercury entering into it vanished, and that made by going off appeared." He instantly perceived that, by such observations, the sun's parallax might be duly deter-

ex talibus enim Solis parallaxis investigari poterit."—*Optica Promota. Authore Jacobo Gregorio, Aboredonensi Scoto. Lond.* 1663, p. 128-130. The claim of Gregory to this important suggestion was first vindicated by the gentleman who now so ably fills the same academical chair, Professor Wallace (Archæologia Scotica, vol. iii. p. 283). But several years previous to this, he observes, "I mentioned this passage to the late Dr Hutton, and he very properly noticed it in the Life of Gregory, contained in the second edition of his Dictionary." (Lond. 1815, vol. i. pp. 601, 602.)

mined, provided Mercury were nearer to the earth, and had a greater parallax when seen from the sun. But this planet, though it frequently traverses the solar disk, was, he saw, not very suitable for the purpose; because the difference between its parallax and that of the sun is always less than the latter, which is the object of the inquiry. There remained, however, the transit of Venus,—a much rarer phenomenon, indeed, but peculiarly appropriate; because the parallax of that planet, being almost four times as great as that of the sun, occasions very sensible differences between the times in which she seems to be passing over the solar disk, at different parts of the earth. From due observations of these, he inferred that the sun's parallax might be determined with extreme accuracy, and without any other instruments than good clocks and telescopes; while, on the part of the observers, there were only required diligence, fidelity, and a moderate skill in astronomy. The parallax of Venus being once ascertained, that of the sun and thence the earth's distance from the sun may be found. And by Kepler's third law (that the squares of the periodical times are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances), the distances of all the other planets from the sun may be determined; so that, from the observation of this one phenomenon, the transit of Venus, can be calculated the diameter of the planetary orbits, and the extent of the whole solar system.

Halley briefly stated the result of his reflections in his "Catalogus Stellarum Australium," published in 1679. He developed them more clearly in an Essay, read to the Royal Society in 1691;* and in 1716, he again most earnestly recommended the

* "De visibili conjunctione Inferiorum Planetarum cum Sole."—Philosophical Transactions, No. cxciii. vol. xvii. p. 511-522.

subject to the attention of that body, and of men of science in general. From his advanced age, he could entertain no hopes of living to witness the next transit in 1761. He therefore solemnly addressed himself to future astronomers, most impressively exhorting them, "moniti hujus nostri memores," to devote all their energies and to use every endeavour to obtain accurate observations of so unusual an occurrence. With great fervour he deprecated such a state of the atmosphere as might obstruct their view, and offered up the most ardent wishes for their complete and triumphant success,—"Utque tandem," he concludes, "orbium celestium magnitudines intra arctiores limites coercitæ in eorum gloriam famamque sempiternam cedant."*

Halley died in 1742; but his affecting appeal to posterity was not made in vain. About a twelvemonth before the long-expected event, the celebrated Boscovich addressed a communication to the Royal Society, warmly urging attention to the phenomenon; and from the very next paper in the memoirs of that body, read on the 26th of June 1760, we learn that they had "come to a resolution to send persons of ability to proper places, in order to observe the approaching passage of Venus over the sun, the 6th of June next year."† Under their auspices, accordingly, and favoured by royal munificence, the Rev. Nevil Maskelyne, accompanied by Mr Waddington,

* "Methodus singularis quâ Solis Parallaxis sive distantia a Terra, ope Veneris intra Solem conspiciendæ, tuto determinari poterit."—Phil. Trans. No. cccxlviii. vol. xxix. p. 454-464. James Ferguson's "Plain Method of finding the Distances of all the Planets from the Sun by the Transit of Venus," and Benjamin Martin's "Venus in the Sun," both published in 1761, were little more than loose translations of this tract, with some notes and additions, partly popular and partly scientific.

† Phil. Trans. vol. li. p. 889.

repaired to St Helena, while Messrs Mason and Dixon were despatched to Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra. Numerous preparations were likewise made at home, and methods devised for securing ample communications from observers abroad. The whole scientific world, indeed, as may be seen from the subjoined note, was alive to an occurrence which had been termed "spectaculum inter Astronomica longe nobilissimum," and individuals of the highest rank partook of the prevailing enthusiasm.*

These extensive arrangements were unfortunately in many cases baffled by untoward circumstances. Some observers failed to reach their appointed stations; a few were not in good health, and had to intrust the duty to subordinate assistants; in other instances, the instruments were disordered, or not

* In Britain, the observations at Saville House, by Mr Short and Drs Blair and Bevis, were made in presence of their Royal Highnesses the Duke of York (brother to George III.), Princes William Henry and Frederick, and Princess Augusta; Lord Macclesfield's Observatory at Shirburn Castle was supplied by Messrs Hornsby, Phelps, and Bartlett; Mr Bliss attended the Royal Observatory at Greenwich; Mr Canton observed at Spittal Square; Ellicott and Dollond at Hackney: Mr Dunn at Chelsea; and Mr Haydon at Liskeard, in Cornwall. In other parts of EUROPE there were De Lalande, Maraldi, and De Lisle, at the Royal Observatory in the Palace of Luxembourg and at the Hotel de Clugny; De la Caille, Le Monnier, and Ferner, at Conflans, &c.; Zanotti at Bologna; Mayer at Schwezinga, near Heidelberg; Lulofs at Leyden; Eximenus at Madrid; Mallet and Bergmann at Upsal; Glister at Hernosand; Planman at Cajaneburg; Wargentin and Klingenstierna at Stockholm; Justander at Abo, in Finland; Hellant at Tornea. In ASIA, Chappe observed at Tobolsk in Siberia; Porter, the English ambassador, at Constantinople; Hirst, chaplain of one of his majesty's ships, at Madras; Magee at Calcutta; Dollier at Pe-king. In AFRICA may be enumerated, Mason and Dixon at the Cape of Good Hope, as they were prevented from reaching Bencoolen; Maskelyne at St Helena. In AMERICA, it was observed by Winthrop at St John's, Newfoundland, and by others at Kingston and Port Royal, in Jamaica; while Pingré was stationed at the island of Rodrigues, in the Indian Ocean.

ready in time; and, on the whole, the position of the planet and the state of the atmosphere proved generally inauspicious to nice examination. But, though the discrepancies in the results were considerable, the possibility of success on the next opportunity, on the 3d of June 1769, was as confidently expected as ever.

Nearly two years previous to that period, the Royal Society resolved to send out observers to some part of the South Sea, between the longitudes of 140° and 180° west of Greenwich. They were, however, in no condition to defray the expense of such an undertaking; and it was found necessary, in February 1768, to present a memorial to his majesty, setting forth the great advantages to be derived from it, and requesting the royal aid. This petition was at once granted, and on the 3d of April, Mr (afterwards Sir Philip) Stephens, the Secretary of the Admiralty, informed the society that a bark would be provided for the purpose. It was intended to intrust the charge of the expedition to an eminent geographer, whose name has been often mentioned in the preceding pages,—Alexander Dalrymple, brother to that distinguished antiquary and scholar, Lord Hailes. Aware of the difficulty, in such a navigation, of securing the obedience of a crew who were not subjected to strict naval discipline, it was proposed that this gentleman should receive a brevet-commission to command the vessel; and it was stated as a precedent, that William III. had, in 1698, appointed Halley to be captain of the Paramour Pink, on a voyage of discovery to the South Atlantic. This was an unfortunate example to adduce; for the officers and crews of the learned

astronomer had slighted his authority, refused to obey his directions, and at last became so insolent and insubordinate, that, without having effected almost any thing, to use his own words, he "found it absolutely necessary" to return to England, and to incur the cost of a second expedition. These circumstances could not fail to be remembered by the Lords of the Admiralty; and, when the representation of the society was laid before them, Sir Edward, afterwards Lord Hawke, then at the head of the board, declared, "that his conscience would not allow him to trust any ship of his majesty to a person who had not regularly been bred a seaman." On the matter being again urged, he replied, that he would rather have his right hand cut off than that it should sign any such commission; and Mr Dalrymple, on the other part, was found equally determined not to proceed without it.

In this dilemma, Mr Stephens suggested that another individual should be employed. With a discrimination which does him the highest honour, he had early appreciated the talents of Cook, who was now proposed by him as a person fully qualified for the undertaking, and one who had also been regularly educated in the navy. He appealed for a confirmation of his views to Sir Hugh Palliser, and that gentleman most warmly seconded the recommendation, which, fortunately for science, proved successful. Cook, then in his fortieth year, was appointed to conduct the expedition, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant by a commission dated the 25th of May 1768.

The Admiralty having intrusted Sir Hugh with the selection of a suitable vessel, he called its future

commander to his assistance, and proceeded to examine a great number of ships in the Thames. Even in this first step in the enterprise, its conductor displayed the discernment and sagacity for which he was afterwards so remarkable. At that time there was much discussion regarding the size and kind of vessels most proper for such a voyage; some recommending East Indiamen, or heavy barks of forty guns; while others preferred large, good-sailing frigates, or three-decked ships, such as were then employed in the Jamaica trade. With that confidence in his own judgment, which is the result of a strong and sound-thinking mind, Cook dissented from the views of both parties, and chose a bark built for the coal-trade, of the burden of 370 tons. He at once saw that the qualities most essential were, that the ship should be of no great draught of water, yet of sufficient capacity to carry the requisite stores; of a construction that would bear to take the ground; and of such a size that she might, if necessary, be laid on shore for repair with safety and convenience. These properties, he remarks, are not to be found in either of the two classes proposed, "nor indeed in any other but north-country-built ships, or such as are built for the coal-trade, which are peculiarly adapted to this purpose. In such a vessel, an able sea-officer will be most venturesome, and better enabled to fulfil his instructions than he possibly can (or indeed than would be prudent for him to attempt) in one of any other sort or size."* He probably was not aware that his opinions on this subject coincided with those of the illustrious discoverer of the New

* General Introd. to Second Voyage, p. xxv.

World. Of the three ships that first crossed the Atlantic, one only was full decked, the others were caravels or light barks, little superior to the small coasting-craft of the present day. "It was not," says Mr Irving, "for want of large vessels in the Spanish ports, that those of Columbus were of so small a size. He considered them best adapted to voyages of discovery, as they required but little depth of water, and therefore could more easily and safely coast unknown shores and explore bays and rivers. He had some purposely constructed of a very small size for this service."*

Before the Endeavour could be completely fitted out, Wallis returned from his circumnavigation, and recommended Otaheite as the most eligible situation for observing the approaching transit. It had been proposed to make the observations at one of the Marquesas, or at the islands of Amsterdam, Middleburg, or Rotterdam; but this intention was now abandoned, and the Royal Society expressed to the Admiralty their wish to have the astronomers conveyed to Port Royal, in the newly-found island. The observers whom they selected were Mr Green, assistant to Dr Bradley in the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, and Lieutenant Cook.

During these preparations, permission to join the expedition was solicited by Mr (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, the well-known President of the Royal Society during a period of nearly fifty years.†

* Life of Columbus, vol. iv. p. 234. In his third voyage, when sailing along the shores of the Gulf of Paria, he complained of the size of his ship, which was "nearly a hundred tons burthen."—Vol. i. p. 181.

† Sir Joseph Banks was born at London, 13th February 1743. He quitted Oxford in 1763, and three years thereafter made a voyage to

The wish which he had expressed was at once acceded to, and he immediately made arrangements on the most extensive scale. He procured a large supply of such articles as were likely to be useful or acceptable in the countries he was to visit. He engaged to accompany him a Swedish naturalist, Dr Solander, the favourite pupil of Linnæus;* and besides a secretary and four servants, two of whom were negroes, he took out two draughtsmen, the one in the department of landscape, the other in natural history.

The Endeavour was victualled for eighteen months, and had on board ten carriage and twelve swivel guns. Her crew, besides the commander and other officers, consisted of forty-one able seamen, twelve marines, and nine servants,—in all eighty-five persons. The instructions given to Cook were, to proceed directly to Otaheite, and, after the astronomical observations should be completed, to prosecute the general design for discovery in the Pacific, in which Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, had been employed. He was ordered to sail as far south as the latitude of 40°; if no land was found, he was then to steer to the west, between the fortieth and thirty-fifth parallels, till he encountered New Zealand, and having explored that country, he was to return to England by such route as he might think proper.

Newfoundland. In 1778, he was elected President of the Royal Society; he was created a baronet in 1781, received the order of the Bath in 1795, and in 1802 was elected a foreign Associate of the National Institute of France. He died 19th May 1820.

* Solander at this time held an appointment in the British Museum. Some interesting notices of him are given in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XVI., Lives of Eminent Zoologists, from Aristotle to Linnæus inclusive, p. 343-348.

CHAPTER IX.

First Circumnavigation of Cook.

Departure—Adventure on Tierra del Fuego—Discovery of Lagoon, Thrum Cap, Bow, The Groups, and Chain Islands—Arrival at Otaheite—Observation of the Transit and Incidents during their Stay—Discovery of the Islands of Tethuroa, Huaheine, Uliatea, Otaha, Tubai, Bolabola, Maurua, and Oheteroa—Makes the East Coast of New Zealand—Affrays with the Natives—Doubles the North Cape—Discovers Cook's Straits, and circumnavigates the Islands—Sails for the East Coast of New Holland—Discovery of New South Wales—Botany Bay—Intercourse with the Natives—Port Jackson—Dangerous Position of the Ship—Reaches the most northerly Point of Australia—Re-discovery of Torres' Strait—New Guinea—Timor—Batavia—Mortality among the Crew—Arrival in England.

On the 27th May 1768, Lieutenant Cook hoisted his pendant on board the Endeavour, then lying in Deptford Yard, and on the 30th July bore down the river and proceeded to Plymouth, whence he finally set sail on the 26th of August.

While at Madeira, which they reached on the 13th September, the navigators visited the convent of Santa Clara; and the simple nuns, hearing that some of the strangers were great philosophers, asked among other questions, "When it would thunder?" and "Whether a spring of fresh water was to be found any where within the walls of the cloister?" The voyagers passed the island of Teneriffe on the 23d, and observed, after the sun had sunk below the

horizon, that the lofty Peak still received his rays, and, while the rest of the island reposed in the darkest shades, glowed with a warmth of colour which no language could describe. As they pursued their course to Brazil, they had an opportunity of observing that luminous appearance of the sea which has so often excited the admiration of mariners. They anchored at Rio de Janeiro on the 13th November, but the jealousy of the Portuguese governor would only allow refreshments to be procured under the most rigorous restrictions; and his ignorance was such, that he could form no other notion of the purpose of the voyage than that it was to witness "the passing of the North Star through the South Pole!"

On quitting this port, Cook kept a look-out for Pepys' Island; but nothing was perceived but a fog-bank, which at a distance closely resembled land. On the 11th January 1769, he was in sight of Tierra del Fuego, and three days afterwards entered Strait Le Maire.

The morning of the 16th was fair and mild, much like one of our bright days in May, and Mr Banks landed with a party to explore the country. They commenced the ascent of a mountain, the lower region of which was covered with wood; this was succeeded by what seemed a plain, while the top consisted of bare rocks. About three o'clock, they reached the second stage of the hill, which they discovered to be a swamp, overgrown with low bushes of birch, so interwoven and stiff that it was necessary to step over them, while at every exertion the foot sunk ankle-deep in the soil. The day now became cold and gloomy, and the wind

swept down in sudden gusts accompanied with snow. They still pressed on in good spirits, and had crossed about two-thirds of the wooded morass, when Mr Buchan, the landscape-painter, was seized with a fit of epilepsy. A fire having been kindled, he was left in charge of those who were most fatigued, while Mr Banks, Dr Solander, and Messrs Green and Monkhouse, continued their ascent. By the time they reached the summit, the day was so far spent that it was hopeless to think of regaining the ship before night; it was resolved, therefore, to build a hut in a wood at some distance, and the gentlemen last named were despatched to conduct those who had remained below to a spot from which all might advance together. It was nearly eight o'clock before the whole party were assembled at this rendezvous, chilled with the intense cold, but cheerful and in health,—as Mr Buchan had sufficiently recovered to attempt the remainder of the journey. There was still good daylight, and they set forward to reach the nearest valley,—Mr Banks walking last, to prevent any one from lingering behind. Dr Solander, in crossing the mountains of his native land, had learned that fatigue and extreme cold frequently produce an irresistible desire for sleep, against which he now cautioned his companions, earnestly exhorting them to keep in motion, however painful the effort might be: "Whoever sits down," he warned them, "will sleep, and whoever sleeps will wake no more!" The doctor was himself the first that was affected with this inclination for repose; and so powerful was it, that he insisted on being suffered to lie down, and, in spite of every expostulation and entreaty, stretched himself on the snow.

Richmond, one of the black servants, had felt the same effects and began to lag behind, when five of the party were sent forward to light a fire at the first convenient place. Mr Banks, and four others who remained with him, succeeded in dragging Solander and the negro almost to the edge of the wood, when both declared they could go no farther. Prayers and remonstrances were equally unavailing; the black, when told that if he did not proceed he would be frozen to death, answered, that "he desired nothing but to lie down and die;" while the naturalist expressed himself willing to go on, "but that he must first take some sleep." It being impossible to carry them, they were allowed to recline themselves, partly supported by the bushes, and in a few minutes both were in a profound sleep. Soon afterwards, the welcome intelligence was received that a flame had been kindled about a quarter of a mile in advance. Solander was then wakened; but though he had not slumbered quite five minutes, he was hardly able to move his limbs, and the muscles of his feet were so shrunk that his shoes fell off; it was found impossible to make the negro stir, and he was left in charge of the other black and one of the seamen. With much difficulty Mr Banks got the doctor to the fire, when he despatched two persons for Richmond, but they returned without having been able to find him. The snow again came on, and fell incessantly for two hours. About midnight, those at the fire heard a distant shouting, and having proceeded a little way, found the seaman calling for help, and barely able to totter on. Farther off, Richmond was discovered standing, but unable to move, and his companion lay on the ground totally insensible.

The united efforts of the whole party failed to bring them to the fire; the night was extremely dark, the snow very deep, and it was with difficulty that they made their way through the bog,—floundering and stumbling among the bushes. An attempt to kindle a flame at the spot was equally unsuccessful, owing to the heavy fall of snow and the quantities of it which every blast shook from the trees. There was no alternative but to cover the unhappy Africans with boughs, and resign them to their lot.* The cold to which the party had been exposed in these endeavours nearly deprived some of them of sensation, and one suffered so severely that it was thought he would not live to reach the fire. The night was passed in great misery; and when the morning dawned, the snow-blasts were so strong that it was found impossible to proceed. At six o'clock, they were able to perceive the place of the sun in the heavens; but, although the clouds became thinner and began to break away, the snow still fell so thick that they could not venture to quit their fire. A party sent out to ascertain the fate

* In a narrative of the voyage, compiled from the papers of one of the draughtsmen employed by Mr Banks, it is said that the seaman, "touched with sympathy for his companions, told the company of the condition in which he left them; and they were disposed to have yielded them assistance, but it being almost dark, there was not any probability of finding them, and the attempt would have been attended with the risque of their own lives; *they therefore declined it.*"—Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas, faithfully transcribed from the Papers of the late Sydney Parkinson (London, 1773), p. 10. It will be seen that this statement is directly contradicted by that given in the text, on the authority of Sir Joseph Banks and Captain Cook, which is in every way preferable. Mr Parkinson was *not* of the party, and could only learn the details by hearsay in the ship; his papers were never prepared by him for publication; and the so-called Journal was given to the world after his death, not from the original, but from various loose memoranda and fragments. In such a work, it is evident, little faith can be placed.

of the blacks found them both dead; a dog which belonged to one of them was sitting close to the corpse of his master, and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed on to forsake it. At eight, a breeze sprung up, the sky became at length clear, and the snow, dropping from the branches in large flakes, was considered a sure sign of an approaching thaw. They began to prepare for their departure, and made a meal on a vulture, which afforded each person about three mouthfuls. At ten they set out; and, after walking three hours, found themselves on the beach, at no great distance from the vessel, where their absence during the night had occasioned much anxiety.*

On the 22d, Cook resumed his voyage through the strait, and, on the fourth day after, passed Cape Horn. On the 1st of March, he was in latitude 38° 44′ S., and longitude 110° 33′ W. A log of wood floated past the ship, the sea became suddenly smooth, and it was the general opinion that land lay to windward; but none was discovered till the 4th of April, when an island was seen three

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 46-53. Sydney Parkinson's Journ. pp. 9, 10. "It is quite inexplicable to me," says a late author, "how Dr Solander and his party could possibly feel the effects of cold as they did. We are told that he was seized with a torpor, and that two black servants were actually frozen to death, asleep;—and yet, here plants flourished!—they returned to the vessel with some hundred new specimens! One would suppose that it would be needless to search for plants in a climate so rigorous in its effects."—Voyage to the Southern Atlantic, in the years 1828-9-30, in H. M. sloop Chanticleer, by W. H. B. Webster, surgeon (London, 1834), vol. i. p. 200. The plants which were gathered were "*Alpine plants*," and Mr Webster's amazement at their "flourishing in a climate so rigorous in its effects," is scarcely more misplaced than his astonishment that two *negroes* should perish from exposure on a hillside during a whole night to a severe snow-storm, accompanied by a hard frost and a piercing wind.

or four leagues towards the south. It was little more than a border of land, broken in several places, and enclosing a large lagoon, the whole having the appearance of many islets covered with wood; above which towered two cocoa-nut trees bearing a great resemblance to flags. Habitations were descried under the shade of some palms, and to the voyagers, "who for a long time had seen nothing but water and sky, except the dreary hills of Tierra del Fuego, these groves seemed a terrestrial paradise." Several natives were perceived on the shore, and appeared to be tall, of a copper colour, and with long black hair; some of them held in their hands poles upwards of fourteen feet in length. To this spot was given the name of Lagoon Island;* and Cook was afterwards of opinion that it was the same which Bougainville had visited the preceding year, and called Les Quatre Facardins.†

About sunset, the Endeavour was close to a low woody island, of a circular form, and not much above a mile in compass. It was covered with verdure of many hues; but no inhabitants were seen, nor could any cocoa-trees be discerned. It received the appellation of Thrum Cap; and though Cook believed it to be the Ile des Lanciers of his French predecessor, we have more reason to regard it as a discovery of his own.‡

With a gentle wind and pleasant weather, he

* Cook placed it in latitude 18° 47′ S. and longitude 139° 28′ W. Beechey gives for its position lat. 18° 43′ 19″ S., and long. 138° 47′ 13″ W. The captain attests the accuracy of the description left by its discoverer, and adds, "Two cocoa-nut trees in the centre of the island, which Cook observes had the appearance of flags, are still waving."—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 208.

† See above, p. 255.

‡ See above, p. 256.

pursued his course to the westward, and on the afternoon of the next day approached a land of much larger extent than that previously visited. Several of the gentlemen remained at the mast-head the whole evening, admiring its singular shape, which was that of a bow, "the arch and cord of which were land, and the space between them water; the cord was a flat beach, without any signs of vegetation, having nothing upon it but heaps of sea-weed; the horns or extremities of the bow were two large tufts of cocoa-nut trees, and much the greater part of the arch was covered with trees of different height, figure, and hue."* It was designated Bow Island, and is evidently the same with Bougainville's Ile de la Harpe, called by the natives He-ow; the circumference was estimated at ten or twelve leagues; while smoke ascending from different parts showed that it was inhabited.

About noon of the 6th, land was again seen to the westward, and proved to be two islands, or rather clusters, covered with trees of various kinds. Many natives and canoes were observed, and the place received the name of The Groups. At day-break of the 7th, another was descried and called Bird Island, from the number of fowls which frequented its shores. It was thought to be not less than four miles round, had a lagoon in the centre, was partially wooded, and "looked green and pleasant, but we saw neither cocoa-trees nor inhabitants." About sunset of the succeeding day, the Endeavour was abreast of a double range of low and wooded islets, connected by reefs so as to form one island of an

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 75.

oval form, with a lake in the middle. From the appearance of the border, it received the appellation of Chain Island; its length seemed to be about five leagues, its breadth nearly as many miles; some of the trees were of a large size, and columns of smoke were seen to rise from sundry places.

The night of the 9th was stormy, with thunder and rain, and a haze enveloped the voyagers till the next morning was far advanced, when the weather having cleared up, they discovered Osnaburg or Maitea Island. About noon the high mountains of Otaheite were faintly discerned; but calms and light winds so long delayed the approach of the vessel, that she did not anchor in Matavai Bay (the Port Royal of its discoverer) before the morning of the 13th.

The islanders in their canoes immediately surrounded the ship, exchanging fruits and fish for beads and other trifles. A set of rules to be observed in conducting a regular trade, and for the maintenance of a good understanding with the inhabitants, was now communicated to the crew by Cook, who afterwards went on shore with Messrs Banks and Solander, and a party of men under arms. They were received by the assembled hundreds with the greatest humility,—the first who approached crouching till he almost crept upon his hands and knees, while he presented a green branch, —an emblem of peace borne by each of his countrymen,—and which was accepted with marks of satisfaction. A short march brought the English to the spot where the Dolphin had formerly watered. The natives halted here, cleared away the plants, threw down their boughs, and made a signal that

the strangers should follow their example. This ceremony, it was conjectured, not only implied a treaty of friendship, but was preparatory to the cession of the watering-place. Cook, however, did not think it suitable for his purpose; and the people whom he had as yet seen not being of the highest class, he resolved, after perambulating the adjoining country, to endeavour the next day to meet with some of the chiefs. Two of these anticipated his wishes by paying a visit early in the morning, and inviting him to their residences, where he was received with much courtesy. In a short time, however, two of the English had the mortification to find that their pockets had been picked of a snuff-box and an opera-glass in a shagreen case. The announcement of this depredation produced a panic among the natives, and the chief offered a large quantity of cloth as a compensation; but on this being refused he set off, and eventually succeeded in recovering the lost articles.

A theft much more distressing in its consequences was committed on the 15th, at the tent pitched on the site of the fortress which it was designed to erect, partly for defence and partly for astronomical purposes. One of the savages, watching an opportunity, snatched and carried off a sentinel's musket; upon which (in the absence of Cook) the officer on duty, a young midshipman, ordered the marines to fire, but fortunately without effect, among a crowd of the natives, amounting to more than 100. The culprit was then pursued and shot dead. Having reprehended the conduct of the officer as equally barbarous and impolitic, the commander took measures for the restoration of harmony, and in a short time peace was re-established and traffic resumed.

Hitherto, the tender-hearted princess, who made so distinguished a figure in the account of Wallis' voyage, had not been seen. She was at last recognised, apparently denuded of all authority, sitting with great composure among a number of women, and, although she had now lost many of her personal attractions, she became an object of great attention. Her name was ascertained to be Oberea, and she was the mother of the heir-apparent to the sovereignty, Terridiri, a boy about seven years of age. Among the presents made to her was a child's doll, which threw her into raptures, and proved such a source of envy to Tootahah, the uncle of the prince, and regent of the kingdom, that it became necessary to propitiate him by a similar compliment.

On the 1st of May, the observatory was set up, and the astronomical instruments taken on shore. To the great surprise and anxiety of every one, the next morning, the quadrant was nowhere to be found. It was at first suspected that some of the ship's company, ignorant of the real contents, had abstracted the box in which it was packed; but nothing occurring to corroborate this opinion, a search among the natives was undertaken by Mr Banks, with the assistance of a chief, Tubourai Tamaide, who had some knowledge of the route taken by the culprit. They fortunately succeeded in recovering the instrument so essential to the main object of the voyage; but, in the absence of Cook, Tootahah had been seized, to the great terror of the islanders, who never doubted that he would be put to death as a punishment for the theft. He himself had the same persuasion till

the very moment when he was set at liberty,—an event which gave boundless joy to the people, who flocked round and embraced him as a father.

On the 10th, the voyagers discovered the native designation of the island to be Otaheite; and were, at the same time, much amused by the attempts of the inhabitants to pronounce the names of their visiters: Cook became *Toote;* Solander was changed into *Torano;* Banks assumed the form of *Tapane* or *Opane;* "Molineux they renounced in absolute despair, and called the master *Boba,* from his Christian name Robert."*

As the day of the predicted transit drew near, it was resolved to send two parties to observe at distant situations, in order to lessen the chance of failure from a clouded atmosphere; and, on the 1st June, Mr Banks, with a few attendants, proceeded to the island of Eimeo, about twelve miles west from Otaheite; while, on the morrow, Mr Hicks, with some others, sailed in the pinnace to fix on some spot to the eastward of Matavai Bay.

At Eimeo, the evening preceding the important phenomenon was beautiful; but the solicitude of the party did not allow them to take much rest during the night; "one or other of them was up every half hour, who satisfied the impatience of the rest by reporting the changes of the sky; now encouraging their hope by telling them that it was clear, and now alarming their fears by an account that it was hazy." They were on foot by daybreak, and saw the sun rise from the sea without a cloud. Equal success attended the persons sent to the east end of the island; while "at the fort," says Cook, "there not

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 123. Parkinson's Journal, p. 65.

Transit of ♀ Sat. June 3d 1769

Time by the Clock

Morning

H ′ ″

9 . 21 . 30 — The first visible appearance of ♀ on the ☉ Limb very faint. as in Fig. 1. Fig. 1.

— 39 . 20 — First Internal Contact of the outer limb of ♀ seem to coincide with that of the ☉ and appear as in Fig. 2. Fig. 2.

— 40 . 20 A small Thread of light seen below the Penumbra as in Fig. 3 — Fig. 3.

Evening

The Limb of Venus and the Penumbra was hardly to be distinguished from each other and the precise time that the Penumbra left the sun could not be observed to a great degree of certainty at least not by me —

The Penumbra was visible during the whole Transit and appeared to be equal to ⅛ part of Venus's semidiameter —

Jam.s Cook

being a vapour in the sky from the rising to the setting of the sun, the whole passage of Venus over the sun's disk was observed with great advantage by Mr Green, Dr Solander, and myself." An atmosphere or dusky haze, which surrounded the body of the planet, rendered it difficult to fix the precise times of contact, and the observations made by different persons varied considerably. According to Mr Green,

	h.	′	″	
The first external contact, or first appearance of Venus on the Sun, was	9	25	42	Morn.
The first internal contact or total immersion was	9	44	4	Morn.
The second internal contact, or beginning of the emersion, was	3	14	8	Aftern.
The second external contact, or total emersion, .	3	32	10	Aftern.

The latitude of the observatory was ascertained to be 17° 29′ 15″ S. and the longitude 149° 32′ 30″ W. of Greenwich.*

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 141. Part of the original manuscript of Cook's observations has been preserved, and an engraved fac-simile of this interesting relic has been procured for the present work. The result is thus given in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lxi. part ii. p. 410:—

Time p. clock. h.	′	″	
9	21	50	The first visible appearance of ♀ on the ⊙'s limb, see fig. 1.
	39	20	First internal contact, or the limb of ♀ seemed to coincide with the ⊙'s, fig. 2.
	40	20	A small thread of light seen below the penumbra, fig. 3.
3	10	15	Second internal contact of the penumbra, or the thread of light wholly broke.
	10	47	Second internal contact of the bodies, and appeared as in the first.
	27	24	Second external contact of the bodies.
	28	04	Total egress of penumbra, dubious.

The part of the MS. missing, seems to have contained the times of the second contacts, and the first draught of some general observations printed in the Phil. Trans. as cited above, and ending nearly as in the engraving:—"The breadth of the penumbra appeared to me to be nearly equal to $\frac{1}{3}$th of Venus' semidiameter."

In other parts of the world, the approach of the phenomenon was watched with equal anxiety. A transient obscurity in the heavens and a gentle shower were more appalling on that forenoon than a hurricane on another day. In some places philosophers had to deplore an evening black with thunder-clouds and heavy rain; while in others the storm was over and the sky clear before the hour for observation arrived.* At Edinburgh, Lord Alemoor, one of the Senators of the College of Justice, considered himself to be peculiarly favoured. "The morning," says one of his party, "promised ill. About noon the day was terrible, with thick clouds, and like settled rain. You may imagine how we felt! About two o'clock the wind began to change from the south to the westward; about three it was west, and the clouds breaking. There was about four a very hard thunder-shower, and calm; after which the wind began to blow briskly from the north-west; the clouds blown away,

* In the lapse of eight years several changes had occurred, and the list of those who observed this phenomenon is considerably different from the catalogue given in a former page (293). Lord Macclesfield, Messrs Hornsby and Bartlett, observed at Shirburn Castle; Messrs Horsley, Cyril Jackson, Lucas, Sykes, and Shuckburgh, at Oxford; Dr Bevis at Kew; Canton at Spittal Square; Harris, of the Mathematical School in Christ's Hospital, at Windsor Castle; Ludlam at Leicester; Francis Wollaston at East Dereham, in Norfolk; Drs Wilson, Irvine, and Reid, at Glasgow; Lord Alemoor and Dr Lind at Hawkhill, near Edinburgh; Rev. Mr Bryce at Kirknewton; Mason at Cavan, in Ireland; Messier, Du Sejour, Cassini, De Fouchy, Bailly, De Bory, Maraldi, Le Monnier, Fouguere, the Duke de Chaulnes, and others in various parts of France; Lieutenant Jardine at Gibraltar; Ferner at Stockholm; Father Hell at Wardhuus; Mallet at Ponoi, in Lapland; Rumonsky at Kola; Bayley at the North Cape; Wales and Dymond at Prince of Wales' Fort, Hudson's Bay; Wright near Quebec; Leeds in the province of Maryland; Smith, Ritterhouse, and others, at Norriton, Pennsylvania; Pingré at Cape Francis, St Domingo; Chappe in California: Mohr at Batavia; Degloss at Dinapoor, and Rose at Phesabad, in the East Indies; Dr Solander, Mr Green, and Captain Cook, at Otaheite.

and those near the horizon depressed and held down; the sun shone clearer than I ever saw it, and not a cloud was to be seen in that quarter. It remained so till after both contacts, when, not half a minute afterwards, small flying clouds passed over the sun!"* The interest with which the unlearned watched the event, appears to have been almost equal to that of the individuals who more fully understood its importance. At Glasgow, "it was apprehended that the smoke of the town might hurt the observations; and, to prevent this as much as possible, an advertisement was put in the newspaper, begging the inhabitants, in cases where it would not be very inconvenient, to put out their fires from three o'clock that afternoon till sunsetting." This request was cheerfully complied with, "insomuch that there was not a spire of smoke to be perceived in that quarter from which the observations could be incommoded."† At Philadelphia, Dr Smith was attended by a great concourse of people, and afraid that the curiosity natural on such occasions might interrupt the observations, he informed them that success depended on there not being the least noise till the contacts were over. "And," says the doctor, "during the twelve minutes that ensued before the first contact, there could not have been a more solemn pause of expectation and silence, if each individual had stood ready to receive the sentence that was to give him life or death."‡

On the whole, the numerous observations were satisfactory, and the results deduced from them scarcely differed more than the quarter of a second in the

* Phil. Trans. vol. lix. p. 340. † Ibid. p. 334. ‡ Ibid. p. 309.

sun's parallax, which they determined to be 8.6″. This agrees with the calculations of La Place, deduced from the lunar equation in longitude; but Professor Bessel having combined and recomputed the original observations, has recently introduced a small correction, which makes the parallax to be only 8.575″, and consequently the mean distance of the sun 95,158,440 English miles; while, according to the calculations of Encke, the parallax is 8.5776″, and the distance of the sun 95,130,640 miles.

During Cook's observations on the transit at Otaheite, some of the crew broke into a storeroom and abstracted a hundred weight of spike-nails,—a theft of a serious nature, as it could not fail greatly to depreciate the value of the coin circulated among the natives. One of the depredators was detected with part of the stolen goods in his possession, and punished with two dozen lashes; but he refused to impeach his accomplices. Monday, the 5th of June, was celebrated as the anniversary of his majesty's birth, and several of the chiefs drank to the health of *Kihiargo,* as they pronounced King George.

On the 26th, Cook, accompanied by Mr Banks, set out to circumnavigate the island, and that day visited the harbour in which Bougainville had lain, where they saw the chief Ereti or Oretti, mentioned by the French navigator, and were informed that Aotourou was his brother. At night they reached the isthmus which joins the two peninsulas of Otaheite,—the lesser of which, it was ascertained, bore the appellation of Tiarrabou or Otaheite Ete, and had a chief designated Waheatua for its ruler; while the other, called Opoureonu or Otaheite Nue, was governed by a youth named Ootoo or Outou,

the nephew of the regent Tootahah, and Oamo, the husband of Oberea. They completed the circuit of the whole on the 1st of July, and estimated its circumference at about thirty leagues.

Soon afterwards, they began to dismantle their fort, on which they had bestowed the name of Venus, and to make preparations for their departure. On this occasion, we discover for the first time an instance of that fascination which this lovely island, its gentle people, and their manner of life, have so often exerted over the rude hearts of uncultivated men. Two of the marines stole from the fort on the night of the 8th of July, and, as was gathered from the natives, had taken refuge in the mountains, with the intention of remaining in the country, where they had attached themselves to wives. Cook resolved to recover them, but was loath to terminate, by any rigorous measures, the harmony which subsisted between him and the islanders. He was compelled, however, to detain several chiefs, among whom was Tootahah, till the deserters should be brought back. General alarm was the consequence; and in retaliation two petty officers were seized, along with the arms of two more; but quiet was at last restored through the intervention of Tootahah, who gave effectual orders for the delivery of the fugitives.

On the 12th, a native of the name of Tupia, a priest who had been first minister to Oberea when in the height of her power, came on board accompanied by a boy, who was his servant, and requested leave to sail with the voyagers,—a wish which was at once complied with. "To have such a person on board," says the lieutenant, "was certainly desirable for many reasons; by learning his language, and teach-

ing him ours, we should be able to acquire a much better knowledge of the customs, policy, and religion of the people, than our short stay amongst them could give us." Early on the succeeding morning, the ship was crowded with chiefs, while the sea around was thronged with the canoes of the inferior classes. About noon, the anchor was weighed, and the vessel getting under sail, the natives on board took their leave, "and wept with a decent and silent sorrow, in which there was something very striking and tender; the people in the canoes, on the contrary, seemed to vie with each other in the loudness of their lamentations, which we considered rather as affectation than grief."* In this scene Tupia evinced great firmness; he could not indeed restrain his tears, but he struggled to conceal them, and having sent his last present on shore, climbed to the mast-head, where he continued to make signals, till the winds had wafted him away from the friends he was never again to behold.

Cook first directed his course to a small island called Tethuroa, about eight leagues to the north of Otaheite; and on the 14th he passed two others, Eimeo and Tabuaemanu, assigned by Wallis to the honour of the Duke of York and Sir Charles Saunders. The 15th was hazy, with light and changeable winds, and little way was made; Tupia frequently prayed to his god Tane for a favourable gale; and as he never began his address till he perceived that a breeze was close at hand, he was enabled to boast of his influence with his deity. At length a gentle wind sprang up, and, on the morning of the 16th, the voyagers were close to an island named Huaheine, about seven leagues in compass,

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 181.

and with a hilly and uneven surface. Several canoes came off, and in one of them was Oree, the sovereign, who, with frequent expressions of astonishment and wonder, ventured on board; and, as a proof of amity, exchanged names with the chief officer, from whom he received several presents, among which was a small plate of pewter, with the inscription, "His Britannic Majesty's Ship Endeavour, Lieutenant Cook, Commander, 16th July 1769. Huaheine." Two or three days were passed at this island, the inhabitants of which, though rather stouter and of larger make, in other respects very closely resembled the Otaheitans.

A sail of a few hours brought the navigators to Ulietea or Raiatea, which was observed to be enclosed within the same reef that surrounded Otaha, and several lesser islets. A small low island seen to the north, was by the natives called Tubai, and contained only three families. Sailing a short distance to the north-westward, on the 29th, they were close under the high and craggy Peak of Bolabola or Borabora; but, finding the land inaccessible at that part, they stood off to weather the south end. The next morning, they got sight of the small island Maurua, and afterwards anchored on the west side of Ulietea, for the purpose of stopping a leak in the powder-room and taking in more ballast. The lieutenant embraced the opportunity of waiting on Opoony, the warlike sovereign of Bolabola, who had conquered this and some of the neighbouring countries. From the reports of his achievements and the terror in which he was held, the English expected to behold a formidable personage; but there appeared before them a poor weak creature, infirm, decrepit, and sluggish, half blind from age, and wholly stupid.

To the six islands now visited, Ulietea, Otaha, Bolabola, Huaheine, Tubai, and Maurua, with their dependent islets, Cook gave the name of THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, by which they are still distinguished. They lie between 16° 10′ and 16° 55′ S. latitude, and 150° 57′ and 152° W. longitude.

Oheteroa, considerably to the south or south-west, was reached on the 13th August. The natives, splendidly dressed in coloured cloths and feathers, stood on the shore with long lances and clubs, ready to oppose a landing. Attempts to conciliate them were fruitless; and the commanding officer having satisfied himself that no safe anchorage could be found, determined to continue his course to the southward. On the 25th, the voyagers celebrated the anniversary of their departure from England, "by taking a Cheshire cheese from a locker, where it had been carefully treasured up for this occasion, and tapping a cask of porter, which proved to be very good, and in excellent order."* On the 29th, they saw the remarkable comet of 1769; and Tupia, on observing it, exclaimed that as soon as it should be seen by the people of Bolabola, they would make war on those of Ulietea, and drive them to the mountains. The Endeavour was in latitude 40° 22′ S., and longitude 174° 29′ W., on the 1st of September, with a heavy sea from the westward, and no signs of land. She then stood northward, and on the 24th, a piece of seaweed and a bit of wood were observed in latitude 33° 18′ S., and longitude 162° 51′ W. A seal was seen asleep in the water on the 27th, and three days after innumerable flocks of birds were met with. On the 5th, it was thought that there was

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 281.

a change in the colour of the water; and at last, on the 6th, land was seen from the masthead; in the evening, it could be descried from the deck, and appeared to be of great extent.

As the voyagers slowly approached on the succeeding day, its dimensions still increased as it was more distinctly seen. Four or five ranges of hills were discerned rising one above another, while, far inland, a chain of mountains of vast height towered high over all. Speculation was busy in conjectures on this great country, and the general opinion on board was, that the TERRA AUSTRALIS INCOGNITA was at length discovered. As they drew nearer, they could see that the hills were clothed with wood, and that the valleys sheltered some gigantic trees; canoes were perceived crossing a narrow bay; houses small but neatly built were descried; beside one of them a crowd of people was sitting on the beach; and much curiosity was excited by a high and regular paling which appeared to enclose the summit of a hill. In the evening, Cook, Banks, and Solander, went ashore with a party, and endeavoured to open a friendly communication with the islanders, but were obliged to shoot one of them in self-defence. On examining his dress, it was found to answer the representation given in an account of Tasman's Voyage; and, indeed, our navigators were now on the New Zealand of that discoverer,* but on the opposite coast to that which he had visited.

On the morning of the next day, the 9th, the lieutenant again rowed to the beach, and found about fifty of the natives waiting his landing. They started from the ground, and brandished long pikes and short

* See above, p. 144.

stone weapons; nor did they desist from defiance, although addressed by Tupia in the Otaheitan tongue, until they saw the effect of a musket in striking the water at a distance. As soon as the marines were brought up, the English approached the savages, when their interpreter again spoke to them, "and it was with great pleasure," says Cook, "that we perceived he was perfectly understood." They expressed their willingness to trade for provisions and water, and desired the strangers to cross the river which flowed between; but they would not lay down their arms, and Tupia saw good reason for advising his friends to be prepared for hostility. The islanders being in turn invited over, first one, then two, and, soon after, twenty or thirty, almost all armed, swam across. They attempted to seize the weapons of the discoverers, and, though assured of death if they persisted, one of them snatched a hanger, with which he ran off, waving it round his head in exultation. The rest now grew more insolent, and others were observed coming from the opposite bank to their assistance. It was judged necessary to take some measures to repress them, and Mr Banks accordingly fired at the thief, who was wounded, but still retreated, though more slowly, flourishing the cutlass as before. Mr Monkhouse took a more fatal aim, and the savage dropped; upon which the main body, who had previously retired a little, began to advance; three pieces, loaded only with small-shot, were therefore discharged, when they again fell back, and went slowly up the country,—some of them evidently wounded.

Cook, intent on establishing an amicable intercourse with these untractable barbarians, determined

to make some of them prisoners, and to treat them with kindness in the hope of inspiring general confidence. Two canoes were soon after observed coming in from sea, and boats were despatched to intercept them; but they endeavoured to escape, regardless of the fair promises shouted after them by Tupia. A musket was then fired over their heads, in the hope that "it would either make them surrender or leap into the water;" but they stripped for the combat, and assailed their pursuers so vigorously with stones and other missiles, that the English were obliged to fire. Their discharge killed four men; while the rest of the crew, consisting of three boys, one of whom offered a stout resistance, were made captives. Justice to the memory of Cook requires us to give a place to his own remarks on this most unfortunate incident:—"I am conscious," he says, "that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people; and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could no otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid further hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method left of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power

to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life, yet, in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect."*

On being brought into the boat, the prisoners, who had squatted down in expectation of death, were clothed and amply fed. They soon became quite cheerful, and asked questions with every appearance of pleasure and curiosity; but when night came on their spirits failed them, and they sighed often and loudly. When pacified in some measure by Tupia, they began to sing a slow mournful song to an air much resembling a psalm-tune. Daylight, however, and another copious meal roused them to cheerfulness; they were dressed and decorated, and fell into transports of joy when assured that they would be restored to their friends. Being at first unwillingly put ashore on a point of the coast which they said belonged to their enemies, who would certainly kill and eat them, they had soon afterwards to seek protection in the boat. When landed a second time, they waded into the water, and earnestly requested to be again taken on board; but the sailors had positive orders to leave them, and they were in a short time seen to join some of their associates. To the bay in which these transactions took place Cook gave the appellation of Poverty,—because nothing but wood could be obtained: according to his calculation, it was in lat. 38° 42′ S. and long. 181° 36′ W.

Leaving it on the 11th of October, he sailed

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. ii. p. 290.

Canoe of New Zealand.

southward along the shore for six days, till he reached, in lat. 40° 34′ S., a high bluff head with cliffs of a yellow tint, on which he bestowed the name of Cape Turnagain. Finding no suitable harbour, and perceiving that the country manifestly altered for the worse, he changed his course to the northward, and in two days passed the spot where he first made the coast. Still pursuing its windings, on the 30th he doubled a high promontory of white rocks, which, from its position, he called East Cape. He now found the land trending in a north-westerly direction; and as he ran along it, observed increasing signs of cultivation and fertility. The next day a number of skiffs came off crowded with warriors, who flourished their arms and uttered loud shouts of defiance, frequently repeating *Haromai, haromai, harre uta a patoo-patoo oge!* "Come to us, come on shore, we will kill you all with our patoo-patoos [stone hatchets]!" In the flotilla was a canoe, by far the largest which had yet been seen, having no fewer than sixteen paddles on each side, and containing in all about sixty men. It was making directly for the ship, when a gun, loaded with grape, was fired ahead of it; this caused the rowers to stop, and a round shot, which was fired over them, falling in the water, filled them with such terror that "they seized their paddles and made towards the shore so precipitately that they seemed scarcely to allow themselves time to breathe." The spot where this took place was named Cape Runaway; and a creek, in which the Endeavour anchored three days after, was called Mercury Bay, from an observation of the transit of that planet here made. This harbour lay in latitude 36° 47′ S., lon-

gitude 184° 4′ W.; and Cook did not quit it before the 15th of November, after taking formal possession in the name of his sovereign, and recording upon a tree the date of his visit to the country.

The coast still trended north-westward, and as he sailed along, he kept as close to it as was consistent with safety. On the 26th, he passed a remarkable point, which he named Cape Brett, and three days after, anchored in a creek lying to the west of that promontory, which received the title of the Bay of Islands. He did not leave it till the 6th of December; and passing, on the third day, a harbour on which he bestowed the appellation of Doubtless, he was informed by the natives, through the medium of Tupia, that, " at the distance of three days' rowing in their canoes, the land would take a short turn to the southward, and from thence extend no more to the west." The same tribe also said that there was to the north-west a large country, called Ulimaroa,* to which some people had once sailed in a very large canoe, and found that its inhabitants eat hogs. On the 17th, after encountering much adverse weather, Cook made the northern extremity of the island, which he named North Cape, in latitude 34° 22′ S. and longitude 186° 55′ W.† He stood off and on this promontory till the 24th, when he discovered the Three Kings' Islands of Tasman; and, on the 30th, perceived the Cape

* " *Ulimaraa*—qu'il faut lire sans doute *Oudi-Mara*, peuple d'un lieu exposé à la chaleur du soleil."—Voyage autour du Monde, par M. J. Dumont D'Urville (8vo, Paris, 1832), tome ii. p. 291.

† Another European vessel was at this time off the coast of New Zealand,—that of M. de Surville (see above, p. 276). The Doubtless Bay of Cook seems to be the same with that which the French navigator, in honour of Law, the celebrated projector, designated Lauriston.

Maria Van Diemen of the same navigator,—the north-western point of the country. Two remarkable circumstances are recorded by Cook as occurring while he sailed round the extremity of New Zealand, namely, that in latitude 35° south, in the midst of summer, there was a gale of wind, such as, for strength and continuance, he had scarcely ever experienced before; and that five weeks were spent in getting fifty leagues to the westward,—no less than three of them in making only ten. Happily, during the storm, his ship was far from land,—"otherwise," he says, "it is highly probable that we should never have returned to relate our adventures."

From Cape Maria, the coast was found to stretch nearly south-east by south, and to present every where a barren shore, consisting of banks of white sand. In proceeding along it, Cook sailed in the track of Tasman, though in an opposite direction. On the 10th January 1770, he came in sight of a lofty mountain, in latitude 39° 16′ S., longitude 185° 15′ W., which, in honour of the earl of that name, he designated Mount Egmont. In appearance it resembled the Peak of Teneriffe; and its summit, when occasionally seen towering above the clouds which almost constantly enveloped it, was observed to be covered with snow. The country at its base was level, of a pleasant appearance, and thickly clothed with wood and verdure. On doubling a cape, which received the same title, he found himself in a large bay or opening, the southern end of which he could not distinguish. He sailed into it as far as latitude 40° 27′ S., longitude 184° 39′ W. In this position, besides the continuance of the same coast, there appeared an island towards the south, with

several inlets, in one of which he resolved to careen the ship and take in a stock of wood and water. On the 15th, accordingly, he anchored in a convenient harbour, about four long cannon shot from a fortified village, the inhabitants of which came off in canoes, and, after surveying the ship, made signs of defiance, and began the assault by a shower of stones. Tupia having expostulated with them, an old man came on board, in spite of his countrymen's remonstrances. He was kindly received, and dismissed with presents, and on rejoining his companions, they immediately commenced dancing, in token of peace. The Otaheitan was sufficiently understood by them, and learned that they had never before seen or heard of such a vessel as the Endeavour; from which it was concluded that no recollection was preserved of the visit of Tasman, in 1642, though this must have been near the place which he termed Murderers' Bay.

During his stay here, Cook, having ascended one of the neighbouring hills, beheld, to his surprise, the sea on each side of the island communicating by a passage or strait, on the south side of which his ship now lay. He soon after learned, what he had never before suspected, that the country was divided into two islands, the southern of which was called by the natives Tavai Poenammoo, and the northern Eaheinomauwe.* Having taken possession of the country in name of his sovereign, he left the inlet (on which he bestowed the appellation of Queen Charlotte's Sound) on the 6th of February, and soon found himself rapidly borne through

* M. Dumont D'Urville, in January 1827, was assured by two natives, that the southern island bore indifferently the title of Kaï-Kohoura or Tavaï-Pounamou; and that the northern was called Ika-Na-Mawi.—Voyage autour du Monde, tome ii. p. 80.

the channel, which, in honour of its discoverer, geographers have unanimously recognised by the name of Cook's Straits. To the two capes which marked its eastern outlet, he gave the titles of Palliser and Campbell, and on doubling the former he stood to the northward, to determine a question on which there were some doubts, whether Eaheinomauwe was really an island. On the 9th, he came in sight of Cape Turnagain (termed by the natives Topolo-Polo), and the point being thus clearly established, he resumed his course to the south-east; and running quickly along the shores of Tavai Poenammoo, on the 9th of March reached its farthest extremity, in latitude 47° 19′ S., longitude 192° 12′ W., which he named Cape South.* A sail of three days brought him to Cape West, in latitude 45° 54′ S. and longitude 193° 17′ W., from which, along a coast trending towards the north-east, he proceeded so rapidly, that on the 26th he reached a small island at the entrance of Queen Charlotte's Sound.

Having now completely circumnavigated New Zealand, and being resolved to return home, Cook considered it proper to take the opinion of his officers on the route to be pursued. His own wish was to go back by Cape Horn, and thus determine the question of a southern continent; but, to effect this, it would have been necessary to keep in a high southern latitude in the very depth of winter,—an undertaking for which the vessel was insufficient. The same objection was urged against proceeding directly

* "Le cap Sud de Cook forme aujourd'hui la pointe la plus australe d'une île qui a pris le nom de Stewart, et qui s'est trouvée détachée de Tavaï-Pounamou par la découverte du détroit de Foveaux."—D'Urville, tome ii. p. 339; M. Balbi, Abrégé de Géographie, p. 1269.

to the Cape of Good Hope; and "it was therefore resolved," says our navigator, "that we should return by the East Indies, and that with this view we should, upon leaving the coast, steer westward till we should fall in with the east coast of New Holland, and then follow the direction of that coast to the northward till we should arrive at its northern extremity; but if that should be found impracticable, it was farther resolved that we should endeavour to fall in with the land or islands said to have been discovered by Quiros."*

With this view, at dawn of the 31st March, Cook put to sea with a fresh gale, and took his departure from a point which he named Cape Farewell. His course, which lay almost due west, between the latitudes of 38° and 40°, was nearly coincident with that of Tasman from Van Diemen's Land to New Zealand. On the 15th of April, the voyagers observed an egg-bird and a gannet, and on the next day a small land-bird alighted on the rigging, but no bottom was found with 120 fathoms. A pintado-bird and two Port Egmont hens were seen on the succeeding morning, and were considered certain signs of the vicinity of land, which indeed was discovered on the following day, the 19th, stretching from north-east to west.

The most southerly point, which received the name of Lieutenant Hicks, who first descried it, was estimated to lie in latitude 38° S. and longitude 211° 7′ W.; but Cook could not determine whether it joined Van Diemen's Land. He instantly made sail to the northward, and on the 28th was in latitude 34° S., when he discovered a bay, in which he remained eight days. The coast, so far as yet visit-

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. iii. p. 29. See above, p. 110-115.

ed, was of a pleasing aspect, diversified by hills, valleys, and lawns, and almost every where clothed with lofty trees. Smoke arose from the woods in several places, and some inhabitants, four of whom carried a small canoe upon their shoulders, were observed walking briskly along the shore; but, owing to the surf which broke on every part of the beach, it was impossible to approach them. On entering the bay, a few huts and several natives were seen; four small canoes were likewise discerned, with one man in each, so busily occupied in striking fish with a long spear that they scarcely turned their eyes towards the ship, which passed them within a quarter of a mile. The anchor being cast in front of a village, preparation was made for hoisting out a boat; during which an aged female, followed by three children, issued from a wood. They were loaded with boughs, and on approaching a hut, three younger infants advanced to meet them; but though they often looked at the ship, they expressed neither fear nor wonder. The same want of interest was shown by the four fishermen, who hauled up their canoes, and began to dress their food at the fire which the old woman had kindled. A party were sent out to effect a landing; but no sooner had they approached some rocks than two of the men, armed with lances about ten feet long, and short sticks, which it was supposed they employed in throwing their spears, came down and called aloud in a harsh language quite unknown to Tupia, brandishing their weapons, in evidence of their determination to defend the coast. The rest ran off, abandoning their countrymen to an odds of forty to two. Having ordered his boat to lie on her oars, Cook made signs of friendship, and offered

presents of nails and other trifles, with which the savages seemed to be pleased; but, on the first symptom of a nearer approach to the shore, they again assumed a hostile bearing. A musket was fired between them, the report of which caused the younger to drop a bundle of lances, which he again snatched up, and a stone was thrown at the English. Cook now directed small shot to be used; when the elder, being struck on the leg, ran to a hut, from which, however, he instantly returned, bearing a sort of shield; when he and his comrade threw each a lance, but without inflicting injury. The fire of a third musket was followed by the discharge of another spear; after which the savages ran off. It was found that the children had hid themselves in one of the huts; and, without disturbing them, Cook, having left some beads and other articles, retired with all the lances he could find. Next morning, not one of the trinkets had been moved, nor was a single native to be seen near the spot.

Small parties were met with at other places during the excursions in search of water, provisions, and natural curiosities. The people were perfectly naked, very dark coloured, but not black; their hair was bushy, and some very old men were observed with long beards, while the aged females had their locks cropped short. They subsisted chiefly on fish, dressed at fires both on shore and in their canoes. The country was stocked with wood, of which, however, only two kinds were thought worthy the appellation of timber; shrubs, palms, mangroves, and a variety of plants,—many unknown to the naturalists,—were plentiful; birds, some of great beauty, abounded; and there were several strange quadrupeds. Such, to its first European visiters, appeared the charac-

teristics of BOTANY BAY, so called from the profusion of plants with which, through the industry of Messrs Banks and Solander, that department of natural history was enriched. To a harbour about three miles farther north, "in which there appeared to be good anchorage," Cook gave the title of Port Jackson,—a name which has since become familiar in every quarter of the world. On the banks of this noble inlet have risen the towns of Sydney and Paramatta, and its waters, on which 1000 ships of the line might ride in safety, are whitened by the sails of almost every people of Europe.

On the 6th May, our navigator resumed his progress northward along the coast, and in about a month had advanced nearly 1300 miles. On the 10th of June, he was off a point which he afterwards named Cape Tribulation, in latitude 16° 6′ S., and longitude 214° 39′ W., near the position assigned to some of the discoveries of Quiros, which certain geographers were of opinion formed part of some great mainland. With a view to see whether there were any in the offing, and to avoid two low woody islets ahead, he hauled from the shore, intending to stretch out all night, with the prospect of a fine breeze and clear moonlight. About 9 o'clock, the water, which had deepened from fourteen to twenty-one fathoms, suddenly shoaled, and, within the space of a few minutes, fell to twelve, ten, and eight. Preparation was immediately made for putting about and coming to anchor; but the next cast of the line showing deep water, it was thought the vessel had got over the shoals. Full twenty fathoms were next sounded, and the depth continued to increase; so that the gentlemen who had been summoned on

deck retired to bed in perfect security. A few minutes before 11 o'clock, however, the water shallowed suddenly to seventeen fathoms, and, before the lead could be again cast, the Endeavour struck on a rock, and remained immovable except by the heaving of the surge. Boats being immediately hoisted out, it was found that she had been lifted over a ledge, and now lay in a sort of basin, with only from three to four fathoms of water in some places, and in others not so many feet. An anchor was carried out from the stern, in hopes that it would take ground with sufficient firmness to resist the action of the capstan, so that the ship might be moved into deep water; but every exertion to effect this was fruitless. Meanwhile the vessel beat on the rocks with such violence, that the crew could scarcely keep their footing; and to increase their dismay the light of the moon showed them that the sheathing-boards had been separated from the bottom, and were floating around. The false keel followed, so that the only chance of safety seemed to lie in lightening the ship. But she had struck at the height of the tide, which was now fallen considerably, and the next flow must return before that process could be of any advantage. That all might be in readiness, however, the water was started in the hold and pumped up; all the guns on deck, the iron and stone ballast, casks, and many other articles, were thrown overboard; while the crew became so impressed with their danger that not an oath was heard,—"the habit of profaneness, however strong, being instantly subdued by the dread of incurring guilt when death seemed to be so near."

At daybreak land was seen about eight leagues off; the ship still held together; and the wind having

happily fallen and a dead calm ensuing, anchors were got out and every thing prepared for heaving her off the rock; but, though lightened to nearly fifty tons, she did not float by a foot and a half, so far short was the tide of the day to that of the night. Greatly discouraged, the crew proceeded to diminish her weight still more, by throwing overboard every thing that could be spared; but now the water, hitherto nearly excluded, rushed in so fast, that two pumps, incessantly working, could barely keep her afloat; and about two o'clock she lay heeling to starboard, while the pinnace, which was under her bows, touched the ground. There could, therefore, be no hope of getting her off till the midnight-tide, which began to rise by five P. M. About that time the leak was observed to be rapidly increasing; and though by nine the ship righted, the water, notwithstanding the action of three pumps, gained considerably. Shortly after ten she floated, and was heaved clear from the ledge into deep water. The labour at the pumps had now totally exhausted the men, none of whom could work beyond a few minutes, when, falling down on the deck, their places were supplied by others. Still they gained so considerably on the water, that, by the following morning, no doubt was entertained of the ship's ultimate safety. As the leak, however, continued, and the toil of pumping was excessive, Mr Monkhouse, who had formerly been in like danger, suggested the expedient of *fothering* the vessel,—that is, girthing round the bottom a sail properly covered with oakum, and kept stretched by means of ropes. It was tried, and answered so well, that the use of two pumps could now be dispensed with. On the evening of the

12th, they cast anchor about seven leagues from the land; but it was not till the 17th that, a safe harbour having been found, the ship was hauled ashore to undergo repairs. It was then discovered that her preservation was due to a very singular circumstance. "One of the holes," says the commander, "which was big enough to have sunk us if we had had eight pumps instead of four, and had been able to keep them incessantly going, was in great measure plugged up by a fragment of the rock, which, after having made the wound, was left sticking in it; so that the water which at first had gained upon our pumps was what came in at the interstices between the stone and the edges of the hole that received it."*

A small stream near the spot where the vessel was refitted received the name of Endeavour River. Here, for the first time, Cook himself obtained a sight of the kangaroo,—a species of quadruped before that time unknown to European naturalists. It had previously been observed by some of his companions, and astonished them by its extraordinary leaps, the speed of which set a greyhound belonging to Mr Banks at defiance. It was described by one of the sailors, who almost took it for the devil, to be "as large as a one-gallon keg, and very like it; he had horns and wings, yet he crept so slowly through the grass, that if I had not been *afeard* I might have touched him."

The navigators left this spot on the 5th August, with the resolution of pursuing a north-east course, and keeping the pinnace in front to guide them by signals; but they were speedily compelled to cast anchor by sudden shoal-water. On the following

* Hawkesworth's Coll. vol. iii. p. 155.

day, nothing was in view but breakers extending on all sides, and far out to the open sea, into which there seemed no entrance, except through a labyrinth of coral rocks, in some parts as steep as a wall, at others edged with patches of sand, covered only at high water. Nearly a week passed among these and other perils, when, getting between the mainland and three small islands, they thought they had discovered a clear opening. But the appellation Cape Flattery denotes its deceptive promise, and they still found themselves obliged to keep near the shore. After a few days, they reached a channel which conducted them beyond the breakers.

Early on the morning of the 16th, they were alarmed by the roaring of the surf, which at dawn they saw foaming to a vast height at about a mile's distance; while the depth was so great, that they could not reach the ground with an anchor. In the absence of wind to fill a sail, the waves drove them rapidly towards the reef. Boats were immediately sent ahead to tow the vessel off, but they would have failed to save her had not a light breeze moved her obliquely from the reef when she was within 100 yards of it. In less than ten minutes the wind again fell, and the ship was driven towards the breakers; it once more sprung up, and a short space was gained. Meanwhile an opening appeared in the reef, by which, though not broader than the length of the vessel, it was determined to attempt a passage into the smooth water behind. But, before it could be reached, the tide of ebb rushed out of it like a mill-stream, and drove her off. This, though a considerable disappointment, enabled the navigators, with much

exertion, to make an offing of nearly two miles. Their situation was nevertheless critical in the extreme, till another narrow opening was seen to the west, through which they were hurried with amazing rapidity; and shortly afterwards cast anchor within the reef in nineteen fathoms, gratefully naming the passage through which they had escaped Providential Channel.

On the 21st, Cook made York Cape, the most northerly point of the coast, in latitude 10° 37′ S., longitude 218° 24′ W.; and having landed on a small island, he hoisted the English colours, and took possession of the whole eastern coast of New Holland, from latitude 38° to latitude 10½ S., by the name of NEW SOUTH WALES.

The discovery made by the companion of Quiros, in 1606, of the strait between Papua and Australia, was, it has been already mentioned, at this time entirely forgotten;* and Cook, in sailing between them, settled the much-agitated question, "Whether New Holland and New Guinea were separate islands?" To the channel which divides them he gave the name of his ship, by which it is sometimes recognised, although more commonly known by the name of its first explorer, Torres. Its length, from north-east to south-west, was reckoned ten leagues; and its breadth five, except at the north-east entrance, where it was contracted to less than two miles by certain islands. The voyagers left it on the 23d of August, and two days after had a narrow escape from some shoals, which they approached within half-a-cable's length. On the 3d of September, they landed on New Guinea, near the Cape de la Colta St Bo-

* See above, pp. 115, 126, 137, 154, and 280.

naventura, in latitude 6° 15½′ S. The natives resembled those of Australia, but their skin was not so dark; they were equally naked, quite as hostile, and in possession of a species of fire-arms which emitted flame and smoke like a musket; but the short sticks from which these issued, and which were swung sideways from the bearer, made no report. It was uncertain if they projected any thing that could do mischief at a distance; for the whole phenomenon, though it excited wonder at the time, was imperfectly observed; nor are we aware that it has since been satisfactorily explained.

Our navigator now determined to proceed westward towards the Straits of Sunda. On the 9th, he came in sight of Timor, and six days after anchored at Savu, or Sou, an island to the west-south-west, colonized by the Dutch, who succeeded the Portuguese in its occupation, but at the time so little known to Europeans, that Cook considered it as a new discovery. Leaving it on the 21st of September, he came to anchor on the 9th of the following month in the road of Batavia, where it was intended to repair the vessel. On their arrival, all the ship's company, except the Otaheitan, were in good health, and even he, delighted with every thing he saw, continued for a few days to improve in strength and spirits. But, soon after, Tupia and others became alarmingly indisposed, and in a short space the sickness spread so much that only a very small number could perform duty. Mr Monkhouse, the surgeon, was the first victim to this pestilential spot; Dr Solander was barely able to attend his funeral; Mr Banks lay confined to bed; some of his servants were dangerously affected; Tupia and

his boy were evidently sinking apace; Cook himself was taken ill: in short, the work of death had commenced, and threatened, if not speedily arrested, to overtake the whole. Before the Endeavour took her departure, on the 26th of December, seven of her complement had died, and the number of sick amounted to forty. Among the deceased were Tayeto and his kind protector Tupia, "who sunk at once after the loss of the boy, whom he loved with the tenderness of a parent." On inspecting the ship, it was found that two planks and the half of a third, under the main channel, near the keel, had the extent of six feet so worn, as not to be above the eighth of an inch in thickness; and even this gauze-like partition, on which the lives of so many had depended, was perforated by worms.

The remainder of the voyage was marked by an alarming mortality, the seeds of which were no doubt sown at Batavia. In the run from the western mouth of the Straits of Sunda to the Cape of Good Hope, which was reached on the 15th of March 1771, few nights passed without a corpse being committed to the deep, and those still able to move could not answer the demands of the sick. In the course of six weeks, the pestilence carried off Messrs Sporing and Parkinson, both in the establishment of Mr Banks; Mr Green, the astronomer, and various others; in all twenty-three persons, besides the seven who died at Batavia, and Mr Hicks, the first-lieutenant, who soon after fell a victim to consumption.

The Endeavour left the Cape on the 14th of April, and on the 12th of June came to anchor in the Downs.

This memorable voyage excited among all classes

the most intense interest. "If," wrote Linnæus, from Upsal, "I were not bound fast here by sixty-four years of age, and a worn-out body, I would this very day set out for London, to see my dear Solander,—that great hero of botany. Moses was not permitted to enter Palestine, but only to view it from a distance; so I conceive an idea in my mind of the acquisitions and treasures of those who have visited every part of the globe." At home, Mr Banks and his companions became the objects of general curiosity; their conversation was eagerly sought by the learned, the noble, and the wealthy; and even royalty found delight in listening to the adventures of the discoverers, and examining the specimens of the arts and manufactures which they had gathered in the distant countries they had explored.*

The manner in which Cook had discharged his duty secured him almost universal approbation. He was honoured with an introduction to his majesty at St James's, when he presented a journal of his voyage, with illustrative maps and charts; and by a commission, dated 29th August 1771, he was promoted to the rank of commander. With a becoming pride and consciousness of his own merits, he was desirous to obtain a higher station; but his wish could not be gratified without violating the rules of the naval service.

* Interest attached itself even to the animals which were on board the Endeavour in her eventful navigation; and Dr Johnson condescended to write an indifferent epigram on a goat which Mr Banks had carried with him round the globe:—

"Perpetua ambitâ bis terrâ præmia lactis
Hæc habet altrici Capra secunda Jovis."

CHAPTER X.

Second Circumnavigation of Cook.

Objects of the Voyage—Search for Bouvet's Land—The Southern Continent—Aurora Australis—Arrival at New Zealand—Visit to the Low Archipelago—Otaheite—Huaheine—Ulietea—Rediscovery of the Tonga or Friendly Islands—Second Visit to New Zealand—Separation of the Ships—Search for the Terra Australis resumed—Highest South Latitude attained—Dangerous Illness of Cook—Easter Island—Las Marquesas—The Society Islands—The Tonga Islands—New Hebrides—Discovery of New Caledonia—Norfolk Island—Third Visit to New Zealand—Run across the Pacific—Survey of Tierra del Fuego and Staten Land—Discovery of New South Georgia and Sandwich Land—Return to the Cape of Good Hope—Adventures of Captain Furneaux—Conclusion of the Voyage—Honours paid to Cook—His Narrative of the Expedition—Omai in England.

ALTHOUGH, by circumnavigating New Zealand and exploring the eastern coasts of New Holland, Cook had exploded the opinion so long cherished, that these countries belonged to the great *Terra Australis Incognita*, yet the question of a vast southern continent remained undecided, and a belief in its existence was still strongly entertained, both on physical and historical grounds, by some of the most distinguished men of that day.

Soon after the return of the Endeavour, it was resolved to prepare an expedition expressly to settle this much-agitated point. The Earl of Sandwich, then at the head of the Admiralty, prosecuted the design with ardour; it received the cordial approba-

tion of the king; and Cook was at once chosen as the individual to whom the execution of it ought to be intrusted.

On considering the nature and dangers of the voyage, it was deemed advisable that two vessels should act in concert. These were similar in size and construction to the Endeavour, and had been built at Whitby by the same person. The Resolution, of which Cook had the command, was rated at 462 tons burden; and the Adventure,* of 336 tons, was placed under Captain Furneaux, who had sailed as second lieutenant under Wallis. The former had a complement of 112, and the latter of 81, officers and men. Both were equipped in the most complete manner, according to the science and experience of the period, under the eye of Lord Sandwich; and, besides the very best stores and provisions, the Navy and Victualling Boards supplied a variety of articles, intended for the preservation of the seamen's health. Among these were malt, sour crout, salted cabbage, portable broth, saloop, and mustard,—all well-known antiscorbutics; to which were added, for

* From an anecdote preserved by Boswell, it appears that it was originally intended to bestow other names on the vessels. "21st March 1772. A gentleman having come in who was to go as a mate in the ship along with Mr Banks and Dr Solander, Dr Johnson asked what were the names of the ships destined for the expedition. The gentleman answered, They were once to be called the Drake and the Raleigh, but now they were to be called the Resolution and the Adventure. JOHNSON.—'Much better; for had the Raleigh [the Drake?] returned without going round the world, it would have been ridiculous. To give them the names of the Drake and the Raleigh, was laying a trap for satire.' BOSWELL.—'Had not you some desire to go upon this expedition, Sir?' JOHNSON.—'Why yes, but I soon laid it aside. Sir, there is very little of intellectual in the course. Besides, I see but at a small distance. So it was not worth my while to go to see birds fly, which I should not have seen fly; and fishes swim, which I should not have seen swim.'"—Boswell's Life of Johnson (Mr Croker's ed.), vol. ii. p. 138.

the sake of trial, marmalade of carrots, and the inspissated juice of wort and beer. Clothing suitable to a cold climate was put on board the ships, together with ample materials for fishing, and articles to serve as presents for the natives of the countries visited, and as money for the purchase of provisions. Each vessel had likewise the framework of a tender, to be set up, if required, on any emergency. Nor were the interests of science neglected; Mr Hodges, an accomplished artist, was engaged as draughtsman; and Messrs Banks and Solander, having abandoned their design of accompanying the expedition,*

* An attempt has been lately made to ascribe the change in Mr Banks' intentions to the alleged moroseness of Cook's temper. In a report from a committee of the Geographical Society of Paris (Annales Maritimes, January 1831), it is said:—"Du reste le caractère inflexible et morose de cet intrépide marin rendit souvent aux personnes appelées à servir sous ses ordres leur position désagréable. On se souvient que Banks renonça à l'accompagner dans son second voyage, bien qu'il eût tout disposé dans cette intention." This charge appears destitute of the slightest foundation. During the first voyage, which extended to nearly three years, Sir Joseph could not fail to become intimately acquainted with the peculiarities of Cook's disposition; and knowing these so fully, it is quite inconsistent with the decision and whole character of the late President of the Royal Society, to suppose that he would have determined to join the expedition, and made expensive arrangements, only to forego his design when the hour of sailing was at hand. Indeed, it is well known, that he gave up his project only "because the Navy Board showed no willingness to provide that accommodation which the extent of his preparations and the number of his scientific followers required." The following statement is given in the Annual Register for 1772 (p. 103), under the date of 11th June:—"Mr. Banks and Dr Solander were not consulted on the choice of the ship; and on their objecting to her want of accommodation for their draughtsmen, &c., as well as to her want of room to stow the crew, the Navy Board undertook to give all those conveniences, and patched the same ship with a round-house and square deck, and without considering whether she could bear it, manned and equipped her for the voyage. Mr Banks, Dr Solander, &c., examined her a second time; found her convenient if she could sail, of which they doubted, and reported her top-heavy. Their observations were disregarded; but a gale of wind arising, laid her on her side without her having a single sail unreefed, and she could

Mr John Reinhold Forster* and his son were employed as naturalists. Parliament made a grant of

not for some time recover; they ordered the long-boat to save the crew, when unexpectedly she recovered. Notwithstanding this accident, she was reported good, and fit for the voyage, and was ordered to Plymouth. The pilot obeyed these orders, sending word he could not ensure her out of the river. At last it was found the farce could not be carried on longer, and the reports on which the Navy Board proceeded were found false; expresses were sent along the coast to Deal, &c., to order her into the nearest dock to Sheerness, if they could overtake her: this was no difficult task; for while the other ships cleared the Downs, she did not make one knot an hour. She was put into dock; they cut off her round-house and part of her deck, reduced the cabin, and put her in the same unfit situation she was in when first objected to; and then the question was politely put to Mr Banks, Take this or none. Mr Banks has laid out several thousand pounds for instruments, &c. preparatory for the voyage; Mr Zoffani (a well-known painter) near £1000 for necessaries, and the other gentlemen very considerable sums on that account."

* This voluminous author was born at Dirschau, in Polish Prussia, on the 22d October 1729. He came to England in 1766, and was engaged by the Admiralty as naturalist to Cook's expedition at the brief warning of ten days. His unfortunate temper involved him in continual broils with his shipmates, one of whom informs us, that Forster in these disputes so often used the threat, "I will complain to the king!", that the expression became proverbial among the seamen, and was jocularly employed by them on the most trifling occasions. He took with him in this expedition his son John George Adam (more commonly called George) then 17 years old, who published an account of the circumnavigation under the title of "A Voyage round the World in His Britannic Majesty's Sloop Resolution," London 1777, 2 vols 4to. A translation into German appeared at Berlin in 1779-1780. The numerous and offensive attacks upon the conduct of the officers and crew called forth a cutting pamphlet from the astronomer, entitled, "Remarks on Mr Forster's Account of Captain Cook's Last Voyage. By Wm. Wales, F.R.S.," London, 1778, 8vo, which occasioned a "Reply to Mr Wales' Remarks, by Mr Forster," London, 1778, 8vo. In the succeeding year, he published "A Letter to the Earl of Sandwich," London, 1779, 4to, in which he attempted to prove, that he and his father were not rewarded sufficiently, nor agreeably to the contract, for their services. It was commonly supposed at the time, that the account of the voyage was the joint production of both; but this was denied by George. The style is inflated and pompous, the reflections are for the most part in a very false taste, and the work is disfigured throughout by that superficial and fanciful philosophy which the writings of Lord Kaimes have rendered well known in Scotland. John Reinhold gave to the public "Observations made

£4000, "as an encouragement for the more effectually prosecuting the discoveries towards the South Pole;" and, by agreement with the Board of Longitude, two gentlemen of distinguished acquirements, Messrs Wales and Bayly, furnished with the best instruments and timepieces, undertook the astronomical department.

The ships thus equipped joined in Plymouth Sound, on the 3d of July 1772; and, after a farewell visit from Lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser, Cook received his instructions, dated the 25th of the preceding month. They directed him to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, where he was to refresh his crews, and take in provisions. He was then to sail to the southward in quest of a point of land named Circoncision, said to have been discovered in latitude 54° 20′ S., and between nine and eleven degrees of east longitude. In the event of falling in with it, he was to satisfy himself, whether it belonged to an island, or formed part of the Terra Australis so long sought, and to explore it as diligently and extensively as possible. This being accomplished, or in case he should not find the cape, he was to proceed to the southward, so long as he thought there was a likelihood of falling in with a continent, and thence towards the east with the same view: and, generally, he was instructed to discover such islands as might exist in the unexplored part of the southern hemisphere, keeping in high latitudes,

during a Voyage round the World on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethical Philosophy." London, 1778, 4to. He died at Halle, in Germany, on the 9th December 1798, aged 70; his son deceased at Paris on the 12th January 1794, in the 40th year of his life.—Memoirs by Eyries, in Biographie Universelle, vol. xv. p. 282-290. Nichols' Literary Anecdotes, vol. iii. p. 90-92, note.

and prosecuting his inquiries as near the pole as possible, until he had circumnavigated the globe.

The cape mentioned in the instructions had been visited, it was reported, by a French officer, M. Lozier Bouvet, who, on the 19th July 1738, sailed from Port l'Orient in command of two frigates, to search for land about the latitude of 44° S., longitude 355° eastward from Teneriffe, where some ancient charts had placed a promontory of the Southern Continent. On the 1st January 1739, in latitude 54° 20′ S., longitude 25° 47′ east from the same meridian, he got sight of land, which, in honour of the day, was named Cape de la Circoncision. It was high and steep, the mountains were for the most part covered with snow, and the coast was bordered with ice. From the state of the weather no boat could prudently attempt to reach it; and the navigators left it without being able to determine whether it was part of a continent or an island.*

Cook took his departure from England on the 13th July; made the Cape of Good Hope on the 29th October; and next morning anchored in Table Bay, where he remained till the 22d of November. Before sailing, he was induced, by the solicitation of Mr Forster, to receive on board, as an assistant to the naturalists, Dr Sparrmann, by birth a Swede, and a disciple of Linnæus.

The course was first directed towards the discovery of Bouvet; but adverse and stormy winds drove the navigators far to the eastward of their intended track, and left them no hopes of reaching the desired promontory. They likewise lost the greater part of

* Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. v. p. 30-37.

their live stock, and underwent no little inconvenience by the rapid transition from the warm climate of the Cape to that incident to the latitude of 48° 41′ S., which, in the longitude of 18° 24′ E., they had attained on the 6th of December. On the 10th, they found themselves two degrees farther south, and for the first time descried islands of ice, some of which were upwards of fifty feet in height; while such was the fury of the waves, that the sea broke quite over them. The latitude of Point Circoncision was attained on the 13th; but the voyagers considered themselves about 118 leagues to the eastward of its position. On the morning of the next day, their course to the south was arrested by an immense field of ice, to which they could see no end, either in the east, west, or south. Some of them, and Cook himself at one time, thought land was discernible over it; but this delusive appearance, it was soon discovered, had been occasioned by ice-hills observed through a hazy atmosphere. Several days were spent in sailing along this impenetrable mass, or in clearing various islands which were floating near it. The weather, meanwhile, was generally foggy, with sleet and snow, from which the whole crew suffered much, though the thermometer did not descend below 30°. Symptoms of scurvy in both vessels, at the same time, excited some uneasiness; but, by the copious use of fresh wort, these were removed.

On the supposition that the ice which had been encountered was formed in bays and rivers, it seemed probable that, as land could not be far distant, it might lie beyond the large field which alone barred the approach to it. Cook determined to run thirty or forty leagues to the east, then endeavour

to steer southwards, and, by getting behind the ice, set the question at rest. But, though he proceeded in this direction for some time, and afterwards sailed both to the south and the west of the alleged position of Bouvet's discovery, he neither fell in with it nor observed any certain indication of land. Penguins, indeed, were seen in abundance, birds which, as is commonly believed, never go far from shore.

On the 4th of January 1773, he quitted a part of the sea which he had amply explored, and took a course more to the south. On the 17th, he crossed the antarctic circle in the longitude of 39° 35′; but about six o'clock the same evening, in latitude 67° 15′ S., he found that farther progress in that direction was impracticable, "the ice being entirely closed to the south, in the whole extent from east to west-south-west, without the least appearance of any opening." This vast body was composed of masses in the various forms of high hills, loose or broken pieces packed closely together, and what the Greenlandmen call field-ice. One floating portion of this last kind, to the south-east, was of such size, that no end to it could be seen from the mast-head; it was sixteen or eighteen feet in height, and pretty equal on the surface. In this situation many whales were observed; the brown, white, and blue peterels were met with in considerable numbers, together with a few dark-gray albatrosses; but the pintados, so common in lower latitudes, had wholly disappeared. Amid the dangers and privations to which the discoverers had been so long exposed, they were enabled to command an inexhaustible supply of fresh water, by dissolving portions of ice which had been allowed

to remain on deck a short time, for the purpose of draining off the salt which adhered to the surface; and in this manner, in the space of a few hours, no less than fifteen tuns were obtained. It was perfectly sweet and well tasted.

The summer of those southern regions was already half spent, and Cook did not consider it prudent to persevere in the attempt to reach a higher latitude, especially as some time would be consumed in getting round the ice, even if this were practicable, which he doubted. He therefore resolved to proceed in search of lands said to have been lately discovered by some French officers, of whose enterprises he had received a meagre report at the Cape of Good Hope. In prosecution of this object, he first sailed north over part of the sea already traversed, and then north-east, till, on the 1st of February, he reached latitude 48° 30′, nearly in the meridian of the Mauritius; but though he used the precaution of keeping some miles distant from the Adventure, with a view to more extensive search, neither that vessel nor his own got sight of land. On the day last mentioned, indeed, Captain Furneaux pointed out circumstances which seemed to indicate its vicinity; but there was no possibility of determining whether it lay to the east or the west; and the state of the winds prevented complete investigation. Other signs of a similar kind were subsequently noticed; but they led to no result; and our navigator, when in latitude 48° 6′, and longitude 58° 22′ E., being satisfied that if there was any land near him it could only be an island of inconsiderable extent, bore away to the east-south-east. A separation between the two vessels took place on the 8th, "though," says Cook,

"we were at a loss to tell how it had been effected." He continued to pursue a south-east course, and was tantalized by some indications of land, especially the appearance of penguins and other birds, but found them deceptive. On the 17th, for the first time, he saw luminous appearances in the heavens similar to those in the other hemisphere, which have been named Aurora Borealis or Northern Streamers. "The natural state of the heavens," says Mr Wales, "except in the south-east quarter, and for about 10° of altitude all round the horizon, was a whitish haze, through which stars of the third magnitude were just discernible. All round, the horizon was covered with thick clouds, out of which arose many streams of a pale reddish light that ascended towards the zenith. These streams had not that motion which they are sometimes seen to have in England, but were perfectly steady, except a small tremulous motion which some of them had near their edges." This remarkable phenomenon recurred several times; and on one occasion, writes the astronomer, "the evening was very clear, and the Southern Lights were exceeding bright and beautiful, and appeared of a semicircular or rainbow-like form, whose two extremities were nearly in the east and west points of the horizon. This bow, when it first made its appearance, passed a considerable way to the north of the zenith; but rose by degrees, turning, as it were, on its diameter, and, passing through the zenith, settled at length towards the southern horizon. These lights were at one time so bright that we could discern our shadows on the deck."* On

* Astronomical Observations made in a Voyage towards the South Pole, Lond. 1777, 4to, pp. 343, 344.

board the Adventure, as we are assured by Mr Bayly, "they were so bright that large print might have been read by their light."

Cook had intended again to penetrate beyond the antarctic circle, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year and the severity of the weather; but huge masses of ice, broken and driven about by a heavy sea, and with which, during dark nights, it was scarcely possible to avoid coming in contact, deterred him from the design. He therefore stood to the north-eastward, and on the 8th of March attained latitude 59° 44′ S., in longitude 121° 9′ E., where, besides the pleasure of a bright sky and an atmosphere as serene and mild as had occurred since leaving the Cape of Good Hope, there was that of having not a single island of ice in sight. In the afternoon, however, the heavens portended a storm, which speedily came on, and lasted till the evening of the 10th, attended by a very high sea, and followed by a long hollow swell from S.S.E. and S.E. by S. "Whoever attentively considers this," says Cook, "must conclude that there can be no land to the south but what must be at a great distance." A return of moderate weather would have inclined him to venture in that direction; but he was soon convinced that he had gone far enough, and that the time was approaching when these seas could not be navigated.

On the 17th, he was in latitude 59° 7′ S., and longitude 146° 53′ E., when, having determined to quit the high southern latitudes, he bore away north-east and north, and on the 25th of March came in sight of New Zealand. The next day he anchored in Dusky Bay, after being 117 days at

sea, and having in that time sailed 3660 leagues without once seeing land. It might have been apprehended that a voyage of such length, in a region so inclement, could not be performed without the prevalence of scurvy; but only one man suffered much by that disease, to which he was predisposed by a bad habit of body and by a complication of other disorders. The general good health of his crew was by Cook attributed mainly to the liberal use of sweet wort, and to the frequent airing of the ship by fires.

A more commodious harbour having been discovered by Lieutenant Pickersgill, whose name was given to it, the ship was removed thither on the 28th, and all hands were speedily busied in obtaining water, cutting down wood, setting up the observatory, forge, and tents, brewing beer from the branches or leaves of the spruce-fir, seeking provisions, botanizing, and exploring the country. The transition from their late wearisome monotony of life to such employments was made with general delight. For a long time the crew had been engaged in continual struggles to evade masses of ice which threatened destruction every moment, amid storms and mists, and without either refreshment or sight of land. They now found themselves in a genial climate and a fertile country, the woods of which were mellowed by the tints of approaching autumn, and resounded with the songs of strange birds. "The view of rude sceneries in the style of Rosa," writes Mr Forster, "of antediluvian forests which clothed the rock, and of numerous rills of water which every where rolled down the steep declivity, altogether conspired to complete our joy; and so apt is mankind, after a long absence from

land, to be prejudiced in favour of the wildest shore, that we looked upon the country at that time as one of the most beautiful which nature, unassisted by art, could produce."* The more sober-minded Cook tranquilly "hoped to enjoy with ease what in our situation might be called the luxuries of life." An examination of the bay convinced him that there were few places in New Zealand yet visited which afforded the necessary refreshments so plenteously; and we are informed, that notwithstanding the rains, which were frequent at this season, "such as were sick and ailing recovered daily, and the whole crew soon became strong and vigorous, which can only be attributed to the healthiness of the place and the fresh provisions it afforded."

The navigators left Dusky Bay on the 11th May, and proceeded along the shore towards Queen Charlotte's Sound, meeting with nothing worthy of remark till the 17th, when a gentle gale having sunk into a calm, and a clear sky becoming suddenly obscured by dense clouds, several waterspouts were seen. Four of them rose and spent themselves between the ship and the land; the fifth was outside the vessel; while the sixth, which first appeared in the south-west at the distance of two or three miles, and had a progressive motion in an irregular line to the north-east, passed harmlessly within fifty yards of the stern. "I was then below looking at the barometer," says Mr Wales; "when I got upon deck it was about 100 yards from the ship. It is impossible to say what would have been the consequences if it had gone over her; but I believe they would have been very dreadful. . . . I think that none of these spouts

* Forster's Voyage, vol. i. p. 124.

continued entire more than ten minutes, perhaps not quite so long. I saw four complete at one time; but there were great numbers which began to form, and were dispersed, by what cause I know not, before the cloud and water joined."*

Queen Charlotte's Sound was reached at dawn of the following day, and general satisfaction was diffused by the tidings that the Adventure was in the harbour. Captain Furneaux had lost sight of his consort in a thick fog, and after firing a gun every half-hour as a signal without receiving an answer, and having passed three days, according to agreement, in a cruise as near as possible to the same place, he bore away several degrees north of Cook's track towards Van Diemen's Land. He made the farther extremity of this island on the 10th March, and having examined its southern and eastern shores, came to the opinion, "that there are no straits between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay." On the 19th, when in about 39 degrees of latitude, with land in view, finding "the ground very uneven and shoal-water some distance off," he discontinued his northerly course and stood away for New Zealand. A passage of fifteen days having brought him to the coast of that country, he entered Ship Cove on the 7th April, from which period till the arrival of the Resolution he had held a peaceable intercourse with the natives.

No long stay was made in the sound after the junction of the vessels, Cook resolving, notwithstanding the season of winter, rather to traverse the ocean as far as the longitude of 135° or 140° W. between the latitudes of 41° and 46°, than to remain idle, and thus

* Astronomical Observations, p. 346.

increase the work to be performed in the ensuing summer. He had intended to visit Van Diemen's Land, in order to determine whether or not it made a part of New Holland; but he remarks, "as Captain Furneaux had now in a great measure cleared up that point, I could have no business there."* Before leaving New Zealand, he endeavoured to benefit it as far as possible by sending two goats on shore, and by sowing or planting many seeds and roots of useful vegetables.

The voyage to the eastward commenced on the 7th June. It was prosecuted till the 17th July, when, in latitude 39° 44′, longitude 133° 32′ W., and nearly in the middle between his own track to the north in 1769, and his return to the south in the same year, Cook, seeing no signs of land, steered north-easterly, with a view to explore the sea down to latitude 27°,—"a space," he says, "that had not been visited by any preceding navigator that I knew of." On the 1st August, he was near the situation assigned by Carteret to Pitcairn's Island; but, failing in his hope of finding it, without a delay which the sickly state of his consort's crew rendered inexpedient, and being convinced there could be no continent between the meridian of America and New Zealand, unless in a very high southern latitude, he turned his course towards Otaheite.

* It is to be regretted that Cook, in his reliance on Captain Furneaux, abandoned his design of personally investigating this point: had he done so, without over-estimating his skill or sagacity, we may express our confidence that he would have anticipated the important discovery, made by Messrs Flinders and Bass in 1798, of the channel named Bass's Strait, separating Van Diemen's Land from Australia. An interesting account of this gallant expedition will be found in Flinders' Voyage to Terra Australis (Lond. 1814, 4to), vol. i. p. 138-193.

Daybreak of the 11th revealed land in the south. It proved to be an island about two leagues in extent, and covered with wood, "above which the cocoa-nut trees showed their lofty heads." It was reckoned to be in latitude 17° 24′ S. and longitude 141° 39′ W., and received the name of Resolution. The same day, another was discovered, and called Doubtful. One which was seen the next morning was entitled Furneaux; and the designation of that officer's ship, the Adventure, was given to a third descried in the morning of the 13th. "I must here observe," says Cook, "that amongst these low and half-drowned isles (which are numerous in this part of the ocean) M. Bougainville's discoveries cannot be known to that degree of accuracy which is necessary to distinguish them from others. We were obliged to have recourse to his chart for the latitudes and longitudes, as neither the one nor the other is mentioned in his narrative. . . . He very properly calls this cluster the Dangerous Archipelago. The smoothness of the sea sufficiently convinced us that we were surrounded by these isles, and how necessary it was to proceed with the utmost caution, especially in the night."*

At length, on the 15th August, he came in sight of Osnaburg Island or Maitea, when he apprized Captain Furneaux of his intention to put into Oaitipiha Bay, near the south-east end of Otaheite, to get what refreshments he could before resuming his old station at Matavai. But in this attempt, which was made early next day, he barely escaped total shipwreck on the coral reefs, in presence of many of the natives, who, probably from ignorance of his

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 142.

danger, showed not the slightest concern. When safely within the harbour, few of them inquired after Tupia, but many for Mr Banks, and others whom they had known during the previous visit. The cause of their countryman's demise, as explained to them, was deemed quite satisfactory; and, "indeed," says Cook, "it did not appear to me that it would have caused a moment's uneasiness in the breast of any one, had his death been occasioned by any other means than by sickness." The captain's rigid system of policy, for the protection or recovery of stolen goods, was soon found to be as necessary and as efficacious as on the former occasion.

The vessels removed to Matavai on the 25th, by which time the crew of the Adventure had greatly recovered. The voyagers met with many acquaintances among the crowd who speedily thronged the decks; and next day Cook visited Otoo, then sovereign of part of the island, whose friendship was essential in obtaining a supply of provisions. Suitable presents were accordingly offered and accepted, and, in return, his majesty promised some hogs, but was loath to go on board, being, as he said, "*mataou no te paupoue;*" that is, afraid of the guns. Indeed, all his actions showed timidity; though he at last ventured to visit the ship, attended by a numerous train. A more touching interview took place with the mother of the regent Tootahah, who, seizing the commander by both hands, burst into tears, and told him his friend was dead. "I was so much affected with her behaviour," he writes, "that it would have been impossible for me to have refrained mingling my tears with hers, had not Otoo come and taken me from her." He afterwards learned that Tootahah had fallen in battle,

Tupapow and Chief Mourner.

and that his remains, after being exposed on a tupapow or open shed, where they were honoured with the customary rites of mourning, were deposited in the family-marai at Oparree. The good understanding thus commenced was kept up by reciprocal acts of kindness and attention. The island-monarch and his people were gratified by the music of the bagpipe, their favourite instrument, and by the dances of the seamen; while the English were entertained with a dramatic play, or *heava*, a medley of dancing and comedy. All the fruits which the country produces they obtained abundantly, except that of the bread-tree, which was not then in season; but, owing to intestine wars and other circumstances, hogs and fowls were procured with difficulty,—only twenty-four of the former having been received during a residence of seventeen days.

On the 1st of September, our navigator set sail for the island of Huaheine, which he made the next day. Before landing, the king, his ancient friend Oree, sent to the ships the piece of pewter which had been left with him in July 1769. Cook wished to go to this kind-hearted prince; but I was told, he says, "that he would come to me; which he accordingly did, fell upon my neck and embraced me. This was by no means ceremonious; the tears which trickled plentifully down his venerable cheeks sufficiently bespoke the language of his heart." During their short stay the English received every mark of friendship, and procured no fewer than 300 hogs, besides fowls and fruits. On the 7th, Cook bade adieu to this gentle monarch, leaving with him a small copper-plate, with the inscription, "Anchored here, his Britannic Majesty's Ships Resolution and Adventure, September 1773." Before his departure, Captain Furneaux consented to take on board a young man named Omai, a native of a neighbouring island. In the opinion of Cook at that time, "he was not a proper sample of the inhabitants of these happy islands, not having any advantage of birth, or acquired rank, nor being eminent in shape, figure, or complexion."

The ships reached Ulietea the same evening, and spent the night in beating off and on the island, guided by the lights of the fishers on the reefs and shores. On the morning of the 8th, they anchored in the harbour of Ohamaneno, and the natives immediately crowded around them, eager to barter hogs and fruit. The chief, Oreo, displayed a great affection for the Europeans, and gratified them with the performance of a *heava*. The scenes which

most interested them in this rude drama represented a theft, which was accomplished in so dexterous a manner as clearly to indicate the genius of the people. Cook looked for the termination of the piece with some curiosity,—anticipating the death, or at least hearty beating of the culprits; but in this he was disappointed, both principal and accomplices escaping in triumph with their booty. At this place he took on board a youth of about seventeen or eighteen years of age, named Oedidee or Mahine, a native of Bolabola, and nearly related to Opoony, the warlike sovereign of that island.

The discoverers departed from Ulietea on the 17th, and steered to the west, inclining to the south, that they might avoid the tracks of former voyagers, and get into the latitude of the islands discovered by Tasman and named Middleburgh and Amsterdam,* but now known as two of the principal of the Friendly or Tonga archipelago. On the 23d, in latitude 19° 18′ S., longitude 158° 54′ W., they fell in with two or three small islets, surrounded by breakers, like most of the low isles in this sea, and gave them the appellation of Hervey. On the 2d October, they got abreast of Middleburgh (called by the inhabitants Eooa), where an immense crowd gave them welcome with loud shouts, thronged round the boats, in which they rowed towards the land, offered native cloth and other articles in exchange for beads, and seemed more anxious to give than to receive. A chief conducted them to his dwelling, which was built on the shore, "at the head of a fine lawn, and under the shade of some shaddock-trees, in a situation which was most delightful." Here

* See above, p. 144-148.

they were entertained with songs, and invited to join in a *cava* feast; but, says Cook, "I was the only one who tasted it; the manner of brewing it having quenched the thirst of every one else." The unceasing kindness of the people, who vied with each other in their endeavours to please, made our countrymen regret that the season of the year precluded a longer stay.

On the 3d, they weighed anchor, and bore down for Amsterdam or Tongataboo, when they were met midway by some canoes. As they sailed along the coast, they observed the natives running on the shore, and displaying small white flags, which, being looked on as tokens of peace, were answered by hoisting a St George's ensign. Cook landed on the 4th, and was conducted over part of the country by a chief called Attago. He was much surprised by the aspect of the island, and could have fancied himself transported into the most fertile plains of Europe. Not a spot of waste ground was to be seen,—the roads took up the least possible space, the fences were not above four inches in breadth, and were often formed of some useful plants. "It was," he writes, "every where the same; change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, nowhere appears in more splendour than at this isle. In these delightful walks we met numbers of people: some travelling down to the ships with their burdens of fruit; others returning back empty. They all gave us the road, by turning either to the right or left, and sitting down or standing with their backs to the fences, till we had passed."* They showed neither

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 201.

distrust nor suspicion of their visiters, whom they permitted freely to ramble wherever curiosity or pleasure invited. In physical peculiarities, in language, and in many arts and customs, political and religious, they bore a striking resemblance to the Society Islanders.

As the period for prosecuting his researches in the high southern latitudes now approached, the commander judged it advisable to revisit New Zealand, where wood and water could be procured for the next portion of the voyage. The vessels accordingly quitted Amsterdam on the 7th October, and on the next day made the Pylstaart or Tropic-bird Island of Tasman, in latitude 22° 26′ S., and longitude 175° 59′ W.

On the 21st, they descried the land of New Zealand; but, in consequence of baffling winds and dangerous gales, in one of which the Adventure was lost sight of, Cook did not reach the rendezvous in Queen Charlotte's Sound till the 3d November. Here he remained more than three weeks without any tidings of his consort; and henceforward, as they did not again meet, our attention must be confined to the solitary course of the Resolution. Notwithstanding the absence of their former attendant, the commander assures us that his crew, far from being dejected, looked as cheerfully on their expedition to the south "as if the Adventure, or even more ships, had been in company." According to Mr Forster, however, as the expectation of meeting with new lands had become faint, a cruise to the south, once so full of promise, appeared no longer inviting. "If any thing," says he, "alleviated the dreariness of the prospect with a great part of our shipmates, it

was the hope of completing the circle round the South Pole, in a high latitude, during the next inhospitable summer, and of returning to England within the space of eight months."*

This navigation was perhaps one of the dullest ever performed. The voyagers left New Zealand on the 26th November, and steered to the south, inclining to the east, with a favourable wind. On the evening of the 6th December, they calculated themselves to be at the antipodes of London.† Ice was first seen on the 12th, in latitude 62° 10′ S., longitude 172° W., being 11° 30′ farther south than that first met with in the preceding year; and on the same day an antarctic peterel, gray albatrosses, and some other birds, were observed. On the 14th, several ice-islands and a quantity of loose ice occurred; and these became more numerous as the course to the south-east by east was pursued. Next morning, there appeared an immense field, through the partitions of which it was not deemed safe to venture into "a clear sea beyond," as the wind would not have permitted return. A stretch to the north, with some tacks, was therefore made, but not without very great risk from the floating islands. On the 22d, they had attained a higher parallel than they had before reached, 67° 31′ S., in longitude

* Forster's Voyage, vol. i. p. 526.

† "We are the first Europeans," says Mr Forster, "and, I believe I may add, the first human beings who have reached this point, where it is probable none will come after us. A common report prevails, indeed, in England, concerning Sir Francis Drake, who is said to have visited the antipodes, which the legend expresses, by 'his having passed under the middle arch of London Bridge;' but this is a mistake, as his track lay along the coast of America, and probably originates from his having passed the *periœci*, or the point in 180° longitude, on the same circle of north latitude, on the coast of California."—Voyage, vol. i. p. 527.

142° 54′ W.; but next day, in a little lower latitude, another quantity of ice wholly obstructed the passage to the south. At this time the cold was most intense, and there was a strong gale at north, attended with snow and sleet, which froze to the rigging as it fell, and made the ropes like wires. Advancing to the north-east, the ice-islands were found to increase in number, nearly a hundred of them being seen at noon of the 24th, besides an immense quantity of small pieces; but, by taking advantage of every light air to drift along with them, a tolerably easy berth was obtained, in which, nearly in the same manner as during the voyage of the previous year, our navigators held their Christmas feast. They were fortunate at this time in having continual daylight and clear weather, for "had it been as foggy as on some of the preceding days, nothing less than a miracle," says Cook, "could have saved us from being dashed to pieces." Still the dangers of the situation were so great, that on the 26th, in latitude 66° 15′, it was judged prudent to make another trip towards the north, and, by the 9th January 1774, he found himself in latitude 48° 17′, in longitude 127° 10′ W. At this period most of his crew were becoming diseased, though not seriously. "A general languor and sickly look were manifested in almost every face," says Mr Forster, "and the captain himself was pale and lean, and had lost all appetite." On the 11th, the course to the south was resumed, and, on the seventh day after, the voyagers were in latitude 61° 9′ S., longitude 116° 7′ W. They crossed for the third time the antarctic circle on the 26th, and on the 30th reached the highest southern latitude which had

been then attained by any discoverer, namely, 71° 10′, in west longitude 106° 54′.*

The obstacles which arrested Cook's farther progress, and the reasons which induced him to abandon any attempt in other directions, cannot be better stated than in his own words: "At four o'clock in the morning, we perceived the clouds, over the horizon to the south, to be of an unusual snow-white brightness, which we knew announced our approach to field-ice. Soon after it was seen from the top-mast-head, and at eight o'clock we were close to its edge. It extended east and west, far beyond the reach of our sight. . . . . Ninety-seven ice-hills were distinctly seen within the field, besides those on the outside; many of them very large, and looking like a ridge of mountains, rising one above another till they were lost in the clouds. The outer or northern edge of this immense field was composed of loose or broken ice close packed together, so that it was not possible for any thing to enter it. This was about a mile broad, within which was solid ice in one continued compact body. It was rather low and flat (except the hills), but seemed to increase in height as you traced it to the south, in which direction it extended beyond our sight. I will not say it was impossible any where to get farther to the south; but the attempting it would have been a dangerous and rash enterprise, and what, I believe,

* Only one navigator has penetrated beyond this point. On the 20th February 1822, Captain Weddel reached the latitude of 74° 15′, in the longitude of 34° 16′ 45″ W. In this situation no land was visible, and only four ice-islands were in sight; but the wind blowing fresh at south prevented his farther progress, and he was reluctantly constrained to return.—Weddel's Voyage towards the South Pole, p. 37.

no man in my situation would have thought of. It was, indeed, *my* opinion, as well as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined to some land, to which it had been fixed from the earliest time; and that it is here, that is to the south of this parallel, where all the ice we find scattered up and down to the north, is first formed, and afterwards broken off by gales of wind or other causes, and brought to the north by the currents, which we always found to set in that direction in the high latitudes. As we drew near this ice some penguins were heard, but none seen; and but few other birds, or any other thing that could induce us to think any land was near. And yet I think there must be some to the south behind this ice; but if there is, it can afford no better retreat for birds, or any other animals, than the ice itself, with which it must be wholly covered. I, who had ambition not only to go farther than any one had been before, but as far as it was possible for man to go, was not sorry at meeting with this interruption, as it, in some measure, relieved us, at least shortened the dangers and hardships inseparable from the navigation of the southern polar regions. Since, therefore, we could not proceed one inch farther to the south, no other reason need be assigned for my tacking and standing back to the north."*

On the 4th of February, he found himself in latitude 65° 42′ S. and longitude 99° 44′ W., and though now convinced that there was no continent except in extremely high latitudes, he was of opinion that "there remained, nevertheless, room for very large islands

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. pp. 267, 268.

in places wholly unexamined; and that many of those which were formerly discovered are but imperfectly explored, and their situations as imperfectly known. For me," he continues, "at this time, to have quitted this sea, with a good ship expressly sent out on discoveries, a healthy crew, and not in want either of stores or of provisions, would have been betraying, not only a want of perseverance, but of judgment, in supposing the South Pacific Ocean to have been so well explored that nothing remained to be done in it." He therefore resolved to proceed in search, first, of the land said to have been discovered by Juan Fernandez towards the end of the sixteenth century, then of Davis' Land or Easter Island of Roggewein; and, finally, of the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros.*

Cook had for some time concealed from every person on board a dangerous obstruction of his bowels, and endeavoured to overcome it by taking hardly any sustenance; but this treatment aggravated rather than removed the malady, the symptoms of which at length, when he had reached a more northern latitude, were so alarming that his life was in danger. The disease fortunately abated after a week's confinement to his couch; but still so great was his debility, that no one could doubt the urgency of hastening to a place of refreshment as the only chance of preserving his existence. He speaks of his own condition at this time very briefly. "I was now taken ill of the bilious colic, which was so violent as to confine me to my bed; so that the management of the ship was left to Mr Cooper, the first officer, who conducted her very much to my satisfaction. It was several days

* See above, pp. 82, 83; pp. 152 and 166-171; and p. 112-114.

before the most dangerous symptoms of my disorder were removed. . . . . When I began to recover, a favourite dog belonging to Mr Forster fell a sacrifice to my tender stomach; and I could eat of this flesh, as well as broth made of it, when I could taste nothing else."*

On the 25th February he was in latitude 37° 52′ S., and west longitude 101° 10′; and having now crossed his track to Otaheite in 1769, he was satisfied that the large and fertile land, "richer than Peru," said to have been visited by Fernandez, could be no more than a small island, if, indeed, any such discovery was ever made. He then stood away to the north to get into the latitude of Easter Island, which had been unsuccessfully sought by Byron, Carteret, and Bougainville. On the morning of the 11th of March, in latitude 27° 5′ 30″ S., longitude 109° 46′ 20″ W., land was descried from the mast-head, and by noon Cook had no doubt it was that discovered by Edward Davis in 1687. "The joy," says Forster, "which this fortunate event spread on every countenance is scarcely to be described. We had been a hundred and three days out of sight of land; and the rigorous weather to the south, the fatigues of continual attendance during storms, or amidst dangerous masses of ice, the sudden changes of climate, and the long continuance of a noxious diet, all together had emaciated and worn out our crew."†

A landing was effected on the 14th, and the natives behaved in a peaceable manner, though expert and daring thieves; they appeared to know the fatal powers of the musket, which they regarded with much

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 274.
† Forster's Voyage, vol. i. p. 552.

awe,—arising probably from traditionary accounts of Roggewein's visit. The commander was, however, disappointed to find, that though there were several plantations of sweet potatoes, plantains, and sugar-canes, few places could afford less accommodation. There was no secure anchoring-ground, no wood, and only a scanty supply of fresh water of the most wretched quality; even fish were so rare that none could be caught, at least with hook and line; while both land and sea birds were very scarce, and, except a few small fowls and some rats, supposed to be eaten by the natives, no animal food was to be had. In his opinion, nothing will ever induce ships to touch at this island but the utmost distress. The inhabitants, whose numbers he estimated at 600 or 700, resembled in many respects those of the isles towards the west, but had made less progress in some of the arts, and were worse provided with huts and household-utensils. Their affinity to the other tribes of Polynesia at the same time was so striking, "that," we are assured, "no one will doubt that they have had the same origin." It was not observed that any man reached the stature of six feet; "so far are they from being giants, as one of the authors of Roggewein's voyage asserts." Only three or four canoes, very mean, and built of many pieces sewed together with small line, were seen in the island. They had outriggers, in the manner so common in the South Sea, but were small, and by no means fit for distant navigation.

Cook saw only two or three of the statues described by the Dutch, but some of his companions who travelled over the country observed many more. They were from fifteen to twenty-seven feet in

Monuments on Easter Island.

height, and from six to nine in breadth over the shoulders; and each had on its head a large cylindric block of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. The stone of which they were made was gray, and seemingly different from any naturally belonging to the island. The carving at the upper part, which commonly represented a sort of human head and bust, was rude but not altogether contemptible: in particular, the nose and chin were pretty fairly delineated, while the ears were long beyond proportion; and, in the bodies, there was hardly any resemblance to the human figure. Their magnitude was such as to make their erection a subject of perplexity, especially when it was considered how little the natives were acquainted with the mechanical powers. In the opinion of Cook, the present inhabitants had no concern in rearing them, as even the foundations of some

were carelessly suffered to fall into ruin. Besides these monuments of antiquity, many little heaps of stones were piled up along the coast, and some of the savages possessed human figures carved with considerable neatness from narrow pieces of wood about two feet long. Of these images, the native of Bolabola, Oedidee, purchased several, conceiving they would be much valued in his own country, the workmanship of which they surpassed.

The navigators sailed thence on the 16th March, and, favoured by a pleasant breeze, steered to the north-west to make the islands Las Marquesas, which had not been visited since their discovery in 1595. Shortly after putting to sea, the commander was afflicted with a recurrence of his bilious disorder; but its attack was less violent than formerly. On the 6th of April, in latitude 9° 26′ S., and longitude 138° 14′ W., an island was seen, and named Hood, in honour of the gentleman who first perceived it. Two hours after another appeared; and when a third was discerned the next morning, every one was satisfied that the cluster was that explored by Mendana.* Cook coasted the south-eastern shore of La Dominica, and, passing through the channel which divides it from Santa Christina, ran along that island in search of the port Madre de Dios of his Spanish predecessor, in the entrance of which he anchored on the 7th. Ten or twelve canoes immediately approached from the shore, but some address was required to get them alongside of the vessel. At length, a few presents brought one of them under the quarter-gallery, when the rest followed; and, after exchanging bread-fruit and fish for nails, they retired peaceably.

* See above, pp. 90, 91.

Each canoe was observed to have a heap of stones on its bow, and every man had a sling tied round his hand. Many more appeared next morning, bringing similar provisions and one pig, which were bartered as before; but not with perfect honesty, till a musket-ball was fired over the head of one man whose unfairness was conspicuous. A great many of the natives were at this time on board, and the commander, who was then in one of the boats, having been informed of the theft of an iron stanchion, gave orders to fire over the canoe in which the plunderer was making off, but not to kill any one. In the tumult which ensued, his commands, unfortunately, were not distinctly heard, and the depredator was shot dead at the third discharge. The iron was instantly thrown overboard, and the two other persons in the skiff leapt into the sea, though in a short time they clambered again into their vessel. "One of them," says Cook, "a man grown, sat baling the blood and water out of the canoe in a kind of hysteric laugh; the other, a youth about fourteen or fifteen years of age, looked on the deceased with a serious and dejected countenance; we had afterwards reason to believe he was his son." This unhappy event was followed by the precipitate retreat of all the savages. Their fears were, however, after a short space, allayed, and, for a time, barter was carried on with them advantageously,—various fruits, pigs, and fowls, being obtained on exceedingly reasonable terms, till the indiscretion of some gentlemen introduced new articles of trade, especially red feathers, collected at the island of Amsterdam. This effectually put an end to the intercourse; nails and all other things were despised in comparison; and, in the absence of a sufficient stock

of feathers, there remained no alternative but to quit the country. This was a serious mortification to the crew, who had now been nineteen weeks at sea, and confined all that time to a salt diet. So serviceable, however, had the many antiscorbutic articles proved, that at this period there was scarcely one sick person in the ship.

On the afternoon of the 11th, Cook departed from Resolution Bay, as he named the harbour where he had lain, and steered nearly south-west, with a fine wind, till the morning of the 17th, when he fell in with the most easterly of the King George's Islands of Byron, and ascertained its native appellation to be Tiookea. Another of the same group was seen the next day; and on the 19th, four small and half-overflowed islands were observed, and named after Sir Hugh Palliser. The succeeding evening, a great swell rolling from the south, convinced him that he was now clear of those low lands; on which account, and being favoured by a strong gale, he bore down for Otaheite.

A pleasant voyage, of little more than a day, brought them within view of that island, and spread general joy on board. "The forests on the mountains," says Mr Forster, "were all clad in fresh foliage, and glowed in many variegated hues. . . The plains shone forth in the greatest luxuriance of colours, the brightest tints of verdure being profusely lavished upon their fertile groves; in short, the whole called to our mind the description of Calypso's enchanted island." The Resolution anchored in Matavai Bay on the 22d; and no sooner was her arrival known, than the friendly natives visited their old acquaintances with every demonstration of glad-

ness. Provisions had become very plentiful during the eighteen months' absence of the discoverers, and the desire to possess the red feathers, which had been obtained at the Tonga Islands, rose almost to a phrensy among the people. The improvement in the general state of the country surprised even those who had thought most highly of its capabilities, and induced Cook to protract his stay much longer than he originally intended. Hogs were now abundant, fruits of every kind equally so, and industry had displayed itself in the erection of habitations and the construction of an immense number of canoes. Many of the latter were destined for an expedition against Eimeo, which had thrown off the yoke of Otaheite; and our countrymen had an opportunity of witnessing a grand naval review of the larger part of the island-forces. The war-canoes, each from fifty to ninety feet long, and double or joined together by strong transverse beams, amounted to 160; and of smaller craft, designed, it was supposed, to serve as transports or victuallers, there were 170; in all 330 vessels, carrying, by Cook's calculation, 7760 men, warriors and rowers. The former wore vast quantities of cloth, turbans, breastplates, and helmets; and their weapons were clubs, spears, and stones.

Having executed those repairs on his vessel which the tempestuous weather of the high southern latitudes had rendered necessary, he again set sail from Otaheite on the 14th of May. As the ship was clearing the bay, one of the gunner's mates, who had determined to remain in the island, slipped overboard with the intention of swimming to the shore, but was instantly taken up. "When," says the commander, "I considered this man's situation in life,

I did not think the resolution he had taken so extraordinary as it may at first appear. . . . I never learnt that he had either friends or connexions to confine him to any particular part of the world; all nations were alike to him. Where, then, could such a man be more happy, than at one of these isles, where, in one of the finest climates in the world, he could enjoy, not only the necessaries, but the luxuries of life, in ease and plenty?"*

On the afternoon of the next day, the English anchored at Huaheine, where they found the old chief Oree as kind as ever. When paying him a farewell-visit, Cook told him that they would meet no more; on which he burst into tears, and said, "Let your sons come; we will treat them well." The commander esteemed him as "a good man, in the utmost sense of the word," but surrounded by persons of less worth, some of whom took advantage of his old age, and, encouraged by the carelessness of many of our voyagers, committed acts of violence, "which no man at Otaheite ever durst attempt."

Leaving this on the 23d, a few hours brought the vessel to Ulietea, where she anchored on the following morning. Cook speaks with great feel-

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 345. These reflections may perhaps recall to the recollection of the reader a passage in *The Island*:—

"Men without country, who, too long estranged,
Had found no native home, or found it changed,
And, half uncivilized, preferr'd the cave
Of some soft savage to the uncertain wave,—
The gushing fruits that nature gave untill'd;
The wood without a path but where they will'd;
The field o'er which promiscuous Plenty pour'd
Her horn; the equal land without a lord;
The earth, whose mine was on its face, unsold,
The glowing sun and produce all its gold."

BYRON'S Works, vol. xiv. p. 302.

ing of the hospitable manner in which he was treated at this island, more especially by Oreo and his family. At parting, he writes, "the chief, his wife, and daughter, but especially the two latter, scarcely ever ceased weeping. . . . . His last request was for me to return: when he saw he could not obtain that promise, he asked the name of my *marai* (burying-place). As strange a question as this was, I hesitated not a moment to tell him Stepney, the parish in which I live when in London. I was made to repeat it several times over till they could pronounce it; then, '*Stepney, marai no Toote,*' was echoed through a hundred mouths at once. I afterwards found the same question had been put to Mr Forster by a man on shore; but he gave a different, and indeed more proper answer, by saying, no man who used the sea could say where he should be buried. What greater proof could we have of these people esteeming us as friends, than their wishing to remember us even beyond the period of our lives? They had been repeatedly told that we should see them no more; they then wanted to know where we were to mingle with our parent dust."* He quitted Ulietea on the 5th June, leaving Oedidee behind him, to their mutual regret.

At one time he intended to visit Bolabola, but this design was abandoned for want of leisure; and "taking a final leave of these happy isles, on which benevolent Nature has spread her luxuriant sweets with a lavish hand," he directed his course to the west. On the next morning, he fell in with the Howe Island of Wallis, and following a track a little more to the south, in ten days he

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 373.

found another insular reef, which he named after Lord Palmerston. On the 20th, he saw one that was inhabited, and from the indomitable fierceness of the people, through which even his life was in danger, denominated it Savage. It lies in latitude 19° 1′ S., longitude 169° 37′ W., is about eleven leagues in compass, of a circular form, and has deep water close to its shores. Favoured by a gentle trade-wind, the Resolution pursued her route to the south-west, and passing, on the 25th, through various islets, several of which were connected by breakers or reefs of rocks, anchored on the succeeding day about a mile from the northern shore of Annamooka or Rotterdam, one of the Friendly or Tonga group. Here the gallant officer experienced no small trouble from the dishonesty of the natives, which he was obliged to check by prompt and severe measures,—seizing some of their canoes, and firing small shot at one of the most resolute of the culprits, who, besides trifling articles, had possessed themselves of two muskets. These were forthwith given up, and mutual good feelings restored. The productions of this place were found to be the same as those of Eooa or Amsterdam; but hogs and fowls, with some kinds of fruit, were not so plentiful: there seemed also to be more waste land, and the people generally were poorer. He departed from Annamooka on the 29th, and steered to the south-west, passing between two islands of the same group, of which the native titles are Kao and Tofooa. Continuing his course to the west, on the 1st of July he fell in with an island about a league in length and half that extent in width, situated in latitude 19° 48′ S., and longitude 178° 2′ W. He named it Turtle

Island, and its few inhabitants, though armed with clubs and spears, fled at the approach of a boat.

For thirteen days the Resolution held on her westerly track, followed by strong and steady gales. On the 16th July, the weather changed, the sky became foggy, the wind blew in heavy squalls, and was attended with rain, signs which, within the tropics, generally indicate the neighbourhood of some mountainous country. On the same afternoon, high land was seen bearing south-west, and "no one doubted that this was the Australia del Espiritu Santo of Quiros,"—L'Archipel des Grandes Cyclades of Bougainville.* Cook sailed round the north end of the Ile Aurore of his French predecessor; and during the 18th continued to ply between it and L'Isle des Lépreux. On the 20th, he stretched across to Ile de la Pentecôte, and passing another called by the natives Ambrym, anchored the next day on the north-east side of an island, of which he discovered the name to be Mallicollo.† The natives were evidently of a race in every respect different from the inhabitants of any of the countries he had yet visited. "They were," says he, "the most ugly ill-proportioned people I ever saw;" their stature was diminutive; they had "flat faces and monkey countenances;" their complexion was very dark, and their hair short and curly. But few women were seen, and these had their heads, shoulders, and faces, painted of a red colour. The language spoken was distinct from that of the other South Sea Islands: "Of eighty words,"

* See above, p. 262-265.

† "Some of our people," it is added, "pronounced it Manicolo or Manicola."—Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 32. There can be no doubt that it is the same country of which Quiros received tidings from the chief of Taumaco. See above, p. 111.

writes Cook, "which Mr Forster collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the tongue of any other place I had ever been at." From hence, on the 23d, he proceeded towards the south, inclining eastwards, till, having passed Ambrym, Paoom, Apee, Monument, Three Hills, Shepherd's, Montagu, Hinchinbrook, and Sandwich Islands, he anchored on the 3d of August on the south-east side of Erromango. The treachery of the natives led to a skirmish, in which some of them lost their lives; and the following evening, he sailed for the neighbouring island of Tanna, where he found an anchorage on the 5th. The next day, the ship was moored close to the shore, so as to afford to the landing-place and to the whole harbour the protection of her artillery. Some thousands of the inhabitants were drawn up on the beach, evidently with hostile intentions; but the discharge of a few guns speedily dispersed them, and the voyagers, though watched with strict jealousy, were allowed to explore the country in peace. The natives were considered as a distinct race from those of Mallicollo or of Erromango; they were of the middle size, rather slender, nimble and active, and having for the most part good features and pleasing countenances. They were found to possess two languages; the one, peculiar, it was understood, to themselves and to the inhabitants of Erromango and Annatom, the other the same with that of the Tonga group. Their complexion was very dark, their hair for the most part black or brown, of considerable length, and crisp and curly. "They separate it," we are told, "into small locks, which they woold or cue round with the rind of a slender plant, down to about an inch of the ends; and as the hair grows, the woolding is continued.

Man of the Island of Tanna.

Each of these cues or locks is somewhat thicker than common whip-cord; and they look like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crown of their heads."* They were armed with clubs, spears or darts, bows and arrows, and staves, and wore bracelets of marine shells or cocoa-nuts, ear-rings of tortoiseshell, necklaces and amulets of a greenish stone.

Having taken in a large supply of wood and water, Cook made sail on the 20th with a fresh breeze, and stretched to the south; but, seeing no more land in that direction, he altered his course and steered north-north-west along the eastern shores of Tanna, Erromango, Sandwich, and Mallicollo. The night of the 23d found him in Bougainville's Passage; and

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 78.

on the 25th, he entered a large and spacious harbour, which he was convinced was that named by Quiros San Felipe y Santiago.* The port of La Vera Cruz was recognised in the anchorage at the head of the bay, one of the two rivers mentioned by the Spaniards was visited, "and, if we were not deceived," says Cook, "we saw the other. . . . . An uncommonly luxuriant vegetation was every where to be seen; the sides of the hills were chequered with plantations, and every valley watered by a stream. The columns of smoke we saw by day, and the fires by night all over the country, led us to believe that it is well inhabited and very fertile." By the 31st, he had circumnavigated the island, which proved to be the largest and most western of the cluster; it was sixty leagues in circuit, and the name of Tierra del Espiritu Santo was given to this, "the only remains of Quiros' continent." The survey being now completed, the group was found to extend from latitude 14° 29′ to 20° 4′ S., and from longitude 166° 41′ to 170° 21′ E., 125 leagues in the direction of north-north-west half west, and south-south-east half east. "As, besides ascertaining the extent and situation of these islands," he remarks, "we added to them several new ones, and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them, and shall in future distinguish them by the name of the New Hebrides."†

Having spent more than forty days in examining this archipelago, he made sail from it on the 1st of September, and with a steady wind stood to the south-west. On the 4th, he came in sight of

* See above, pp. 112, 113.

† Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. pp. 93, 94, 96.

an extensive coast beset with reefs, on which the sea broke with great violence. A passage through this dangerous barrier having been discovered, he came to an anchor on the 5th, when his ship was immediately surrounded by a great number of natives in sixteen or eighteen canoes. They were of a peaceable and friendly disposition, and offered no opposition to a landing, which was effected in the afternoon. The country much resembled some parts of New Holland; the hills and uplands were rocky, and incapable of cultivation; the thin soil which covered them being scorched and burnt; and, "indeed," we are informed, "were it not for some fertile spots on the plains, and a few on the sides of the mountains, the whole country might be called a dreary waste." The natives were robust and well made, in colour nearly approaching those of Tanna, but surpassing them in stature, and having finer features and more agreeable countenances. Their language appeared to have many words in common with that used in New Zealand, in the Tonga Islands, and in Tanna. In affability and honesty, they excelled the people of any place yet visited.

On the 13th, Cook quitted his anchorage, and for two days sailed to the north-west, when, finding a termination to the land in that direction, and a reef extending as far as the eye could reach, he altered his course to the south-east, and again came in sight of the coast on the 17th. He ran rapidly along it, and, on the 23d, reached its south-eastern extremity, which was called Queen Charlotte's Foreland. In attempting to get round this point, some islands were discovered stretching in the same direction as the mainland; the largest received the

name of the Isle of Pines, while the designation of Botany was conferred upon one on which a party landed. The whole of this survey was attended with the greatest danger; and, considering the vast extent of sea yet to be investigated, the state of his vessel and her crew, and the near approach of summer, our navigator, to use his own expression, was obliged, "as it were by necessity, *for the first time*, to leave a coast he had discovered, before it was fully explored." He gave it the appellation of New Caledonia, and fixed its position between latitude 19° 37′ and 22° 30′ S., and west longitude 163° 37′ and 167° 14′. With the exception of New Zealand, it exceeds in size all the islands of the Australian Ocean, extending in length about eighty-seven leagues, though nowhere more than ten in breadth.*

He lost sight of land on the 1st of October, and pursued his course to the south till the morning of the 10th, when in latitude 29° 2′ 30″ S., longitude 168° 16′ E., he discovered an island to which the name of Norfolk was applied. It was of considerable height and about five leagues in circuit, fertile and luxuriantly wooded, but uninhabited, and our voyagers were, perhaps, the first that ever set foot upon its shores.

On the 17th, they came in sight of New Zealand, and could distinguish the summit of Mount Egmont "covered with everlasting snow." The next day, they anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound, for the third time, nearly eleven months after their former visit. Immediately on landing, they looked for a bottle, containing a memorandum which had

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 103-145. Forster's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 377-442.

Man of New Zealand.

been left for Captain Furneaux. It was removed, and circumstances soon occurred which showed that the Adventure had been here; while, from conversing with the natives, of whom only a few appeared, and those in a state of unusual timidity, it was inferred that some calamity had befallen her crew.

On the 10th of November, Cook departed from New Zealand, and with all sails set steered south by east, to get into the latitude of 54° or 55° S., with the view of crossing the Pacific nearly in these parallels, and thus exploring those parts left unnavigated in the previous summer. On the 27th, he was in latitude 55° 6′ and longitude 138° 56′ W., when, abandoning all hope of finding land, he determined to steer directly for the western mouth of

the Straits of Magellan, which he reached on the 18th of December. With the exception of that achieved by his colleague, of which he was then ignorant, this was the first run directly across the Pacific in a high southern latitude. "And I must observe," he writes, "that I never made a passage any where of such length, or even much shorter, where so few interesting circumstances occurred; for, if I except the variation of the compass, I know of nothing else worth notice. . . . I have now done with the Southern Pacific Ocean, and flatter myself that no one will think that I have left it unexplored; or that more could have been done in one voyage, towards obtaining that end, than has been done in this."*

The southern shores of Tierra del Fuego, and the Strait of Le Maire, being still very imperfectly known, he now resolved to survey them. On the 20th, he anchored in a large harbour, which received the name of Christmas, from his keeping that festival there. "Roast and boiled geese," he remarks, "and goose-pie, was a treat little known to us, and we had yet some Madeira wine left; so that our friends in England did not perhaps celebrate the day more cheerfully than we did." Cape Horn was doubled on the 29th, and, two days after, the Resolution anchored off Staten Land.

Having explored those dreary regions, Cook proceeded to examine the southern part of the Atlantic, in search of an extensive country, laid down in Mr Dalrymple's chart of the ocean between Africa and America. This new enterprise commenced on the 3d January 1775. On the 6th, he found himself in latitude 58° 9′ S., longitude 53° 14′ W.,

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. pp. 170, 171.

nearly in the situation assigned to the south-western point of the Gulf of St Sebastian in this supposed shore. Perceiving no sign of land, he altered his course to the north, looking out for the coast discovered by La Roche in 1675,* and revisited by the Spanish ship Leon in 1756. On the 12th, in latitude 54° 28′ S., longitude 42° 8′ W., nearly three degrees east of the north-eastern point of the fancied gulf, he experienced a swell from east-south-east, which he deemed sufficient proof that no considerable land existed in that direction. On the 14th, a small rocky islet was seen, and the next day a more extensive region presented itself at the distance of eight leagues. It was covered with snow, and offered several bays or inlets, in which large masses of ice were observed. He landed on the 17th, and, displaying the ship's colours amid a discharge of small-arms, took possession of the island by the title of New South Georgia. It was found to be about seventy leagues in circuit, but utterly desolate, covered with frozen snow, and without a stream of water.

Quitting this "poor apology for a continent," on the 25th, he stood to the south-east, and on the 27th, had attained the latitude of 60° S., where he met with a long hollow swell from the west,—a decisive sign of an open sea in that direction. Four days later, land was discovered at the distance of three or four miles; it proved to be three rocky

* See above, p. 151. It has been already incidentally stated (p. 251, note), that the French navigator, Duperrey, is of opinion that La Roche was anticipated in his discovery by Americo Vespucci; but this hypothesis seems more unfounded even than that stated by Bougainville. With much more probability says Don M. F. de Navarrete, "Esta tierra pudo ser alguna de las islas de Tristan de Acuna, de Diego Alvarez ó la de Gouhs."—Coleccion de Viages y Descubrimientos (Madrid, 1829), vol. iii. p. 278, note.

islets, and over the outermost there appeared "an elevated shore, whose lofty snow-clad summits were seen above the clouds." A coast of the same nature, which was shortly after perceived still farther to the south, received the appellation of Southern Thule, and was considered to be in latitude 59° 13′ 30″ S., longitude 27° 45′ W. On the next morning, a new territory was descried to the north, and other portions were observed on succeeding days. Cook gave to his discovery the name of Sandwich Land, though he was uncertain whether the whole were a group of islands or the point of a continent; "for I firmly believe," he says, "that there is a tract of land near the Pole, which is the source of most of the ice that is spread over this vast Southern Ocean." He was anxious to clear up this question; but he felt that he could not justify himself in now encountering the hazards of thick fogs, snow-storms, intense cold, islands or mountains of ice, a sea unknown and almost unnavigable, and risking all that he had done for the sake of exploring so dreary a country, "which, when discovered, would have answered no end whatever, or been of the least use either to navigation or geography."* The condition of his ship and company, after their lengthened voyage, almost precluded the hope of success, even had the inducement been greater.

On the 6th February, accordingly, he made sail towards the east, in order to renew his search for the Cape de la Circoncision. He held on in the same direction till the 22d of February, when he found that he had run down thirteen degrees of longitude in

* Modern discovery has shown that Sandwich Land is a cluster of small islands.

the very latitude assigned to Bouvet's discovery, and had crossed his own track of 1772. Being now only about forty miles from his route to the south when he departed from Table Bay, he considered it unnecessary to proceed any farther eastwards, as he had already satisfied himself in that quarter. "Having now," he says, "run over the place where the land was supposed to lie, without seeing the least signs of any, it was no longer to be doubted but that the ice-islands had deceived M. Bouvet;"* and he accordingly determined to yield to the general wish of his companions and get into port as soon as possible. From latitude 38° 38′ S., in longitude 23° 37′ E., on the 13th March, he steered for the Cape of Good Hope, which he made after a voyage of eight days.

Here he found a letter from his colleague, who had reached this colony about a year before. It

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 238. The opinion here expressed by Cook, though not unopposed by some French writers, received the general sanction of geographers; but, after a lapse of more than thirty years, the cape seen by Bouvet was again accidentally discovered. On the 6th October 1808, two English whalers, in latitude 53° 58′ S., and about the longitude of 3° 55′ E., came in sight of an island about five leagues in length. It was covered with snow and surrounded by ice, and no doubt could be entertained of its identity with Cape de la Circoncision.—Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. v. p. 35-37. Cook's nearest approach to it was on the 17th February 1773, in the latitude of 54° 20′ S., and longitude of 6° 33′ E., when he had "a prodigious high sea from the *south*, which assured us *no land was near in that direction*."—Voyage, p. 235. In fact, at this time Bouvet's discovery lay to the *northward*. It may be remarked, that, on another occasion, Cook was in the vicinity of land in the South Atlantic Ocean without perceiving any signs of its existence. On the 17th of January 1773, he was in latitude 67° 15′ S., and longitude 39° 35′ E., not far to the south-east of Enderby's Land, discovered on the 27th February 1831, by Captain Biscoe, in the brig Tula, in latitude 65° 57′ S., and longitude 47° 20′ E. Eight days previous to his discovery, Captain Biscoe informs us that he "crossed Cook's track in 1773, and found the field-ice precisely in the position in which he left it."—Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iii. p. 108. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, tome xx. No. cxxiv. (Août 1833), p. 71.—Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, tome xxix. p. 303.

cleared up the mystery which had perplexed Cook on his last visit to New Zealand, by acquainting him that a boat's crew, ten in number, had been massacred at Queen Charlotte's Sound by the savages, who, not content with an indiscriminate butchery, had feasted on the mangled remains of their victims. After this unfortunate calamity, Captain Furneaux, despairing to meet his consort, ran eastward across the Pacific,* and, doubling Cape Horn, reached Table Bay on the 19th March 1774.

The anchorage at the Cape may be regarded as the termination of Cook's second voyage, during which, reckoning from his departure to his return to this place, he had sailed over no less than 20,000 leagues,—an extent nearly equal to thrice the equatorial circumference of the earth. In this navigation only four men had been lost out of the whole company, and but one of them by sickness, —a proportion considerably below that shown by the bills of mortality in Europe. Many, indeed, were weakly, and all, it may well be imagined, in need of refreshment; but only three required to be sent on shore for the recovery of health, and the rest, by an improvement in diet, speedily regained their usual strength. Almost all the sails and tackling of the Resolution were worn out, though the standing rigging was still of service. "In all this

* During this navigation, he narrowly missed seeing the islands called South Shetland (seen by Dirck Gherritz in 1599, rediscovered in 1818 by Mr William Smith, in the brig William, and fifteen months afterwards by the U. S. brig Hersilia. See Voyages by Edmund Fanning, New York, 1833, p. 428-434) and South Orkneys. "He passed," says Captain Weddel, "within forty-five miles of the east end of Shetland, and seventy-five miles of the South Orkneys: hence twenty miles, we may presume, of a more southerly course would have given us a knowledge of South Shetland fifty years ago."—Voyage towards the South Pole in 1822-24, p. 28. See Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, tome xvii. p. 58.

great run," he states, "which had been made in all latitudes between 9° and 71°, we sprung neither low-masts, top-mast, lower nor top-sail yard, nor so much as broke a lower or top-mast shroud; which, with the great care and abilities of my officers, must be owing to the good properties of our ship." He left the Cape on the 27th of April, and, on the 30th of July 1775, anchored at Spithead, having been absent from England three years and eighteen days.

The design of the voyage now completed was, in vastness and grandeur, without a parallel in the history of maritime enterprise; and never, perhaps, had any expedition been conducted with greater skill, perseverance, or success. Cook was received with every mark of approbation and honour; he was raised to the rank of post-captain, by a commission dated the 9th of August, and three days thereafter he was named captain in Greenwich Hospital, —an appointment which afforded him the means of spending the rest of his days in honourable and easy retirement. In February 1776, he was unanimously elected a Fellow of the Royal Society; and on the 7th March, the evening of his admission, a communication was read, in which he detailed the means he had employed to preserve the health of his crew in their long and perilous navigation.* For

* Phil. Trans. vol. lxvi. p. 402, *et seq.* In addition to a liberal use of the various antiscorbutics furnished by the Navy and Victualling Boards (see above, p. 343), Cook had recourse to various other arrangements, which he thus details:—

"The crew were at three watches, except upon some extraordinary occasions. By this means they were not so much exposed to the weather as if they had been at watch and watch; and they had generally dry clothes to shift themselves when they happened to get wet. Care was also taken to expose them as little as possible. Proper methods were employed to keep their persons, hammocks, bedding, clothes, &c., constantly clean and dry. Equal pains were

this most valuable and important essay, the council awarded to him the Copley Medal; and on the occasion of its delivery, the president, Sir John Pringle, delivered a discourse highly encomiastic of the great discoverer:—"If," concluded the worthy baronet, "Rome decreed the civic crown to him who saved the life of a single citizen, what wreaths are due to that man, who, having himself saved many, perpetuates in your Transactions the means by which Britain may now, on the most distant voyages, save numbers of her intrepid mariners, who, braving every danger, have so liberally contributed to the fame, to the opulence, and to the maritime empire of their country."

taken to keep the ship clean and dry between decks. Once or twice a-week she was aired with fires; and, when this could not be done, she was smoked with gunpowder, moistened with vinegar or water. I had also frequently a fire made in an iron pot at the bottom of the well, which greatly purified the air in the lower parts of the ship. To this and cleanliness, as well in the ship as amongst the people, too great attention cannot be paid. The least neglect occasions a putrid offensive smell below, which nothing but fires will remove; and if these be not used in time, those smells will be attended with bad consequences.

"Proper care was taken of the ship's coppers, so that they were kept constantly clean. The fat, which boiled out of the salt beef and pork, I never suffered to be given to the people, as is customary; being of opinion that it promotes the scurvy. I never failed to take in water wherever it was to be procured, even when we did not seem to want it; because I look upon fresh water from on shore to be much more wholesome than that which has been kept some time on board. Of this essential article we were never at an allowance, but had always an abundance for every necessary purpose. I am convinced, that with plenty of fresh water, and a close attention to cleanliness, a ship's company will seldom be much afflicted with the scurvy, though they should not be provided with any of the anti-scorbutics mentioned.

"We came to few places where either the art of man or nature did not afford some sort of refreshment or other, either of the animal or vegetable kind. It was my first care to procure what could be met with of either by every means in my power, and to oblige our people to make use thereof, both by my example and authority; but the benefits arising from such refreshments soon became so obvious, that I had little occasion to employ either the one or the other."

The account of his first voyage, along with the narrative of the expeditions of Byron, Wallis, and Carteret, had been prepared for publication by Dr Hawkesworth. The manner in which that gentleman executed the charge intrusted to him gave little satisfaction; and on this occasion it was deemed more advisable that the history of the enterprise should be written by him who had so ably conducted it. In submitting his work to the public, Cook considered it necessary to plead in excuse for any inaccuracies of composition, or deficiencies in the elegance of style, which might be observed in his narrative, "that it was the production of a man who had not had the advantage of much school-education, but who had been constantly at sea since his youth; and though, with the assistance of a few good friends, he had passed through all the stations belonging to a seaman, from an apprentice-boy in the coal-trade to a post-captain in the royal navy, he had had no opportunity of cultivating letters." But, in truth, the "Voyage towards the South Pole" stands in no need of such an apology. The sentiments and reflections are in every instance just, manly, and sagacious; the descriptions are clear and graphic; and the style is free from affectation, plain, flowing, and expressive.

Omai, the native of Ulietea whom Captain Furneaux took on board at Huaheine, was the first inhabitant of the South Sea Islands seen in Britain, where his presence naturally excited intense curiosity. He was at once introduced into the highest circles, and patronised by the rank, fashion, and beauty of the metropolis. He was honoured by an interview with his Majesty George III., who settled on him a

pension during his residence in this country, and made him several presents. He does not seem to have attained to great proficiency in the English language; but, by the aid of signs and gestures, he was able to make himself generally understood, and in a short time acquired such a knowledge of the town, that he could traverse it without guide or interpreter. For the opera, which had so many charms for the Otaheitan brought to Paris by Bougainville, he appears to have cared little. But we are assured by Madame D'Arblay, that nothing could be more curious or less pleasing than one of the songs of his native land, which he chanted in the presence of her father: "Voice he had none; and tune or air did not seem to be even aimed at, either by composer or performer; 'twas a mere queer, wild, and strange rumbling of uncouth sounds. His music, Dr Burney declared, was all that he had about him of savage."* The ease and grace of his manners, indeed, excited much wonder. With the talent for mimicry which is characteristic of his nation, he readily copied the forms of the society in which he mixed; and, as his intercourse was with the most refined circles, he imitated only admired and elegant models. Dr Johnson, whose vision, however, was none of the keenest, tells us, that dining at Streatham with Lord Mulgrave and the Ulietean, "they sat with their backs to the light fronting me, so that I could not see distinctly; and there was so little of the savage in Omai, that I was afraid to speak to either, lest I should mistake one for the other."† We

* Memoirs of Dr Burney, by his Daughter, Madame D'Arblay, vol. ii. p. 7.

† Boswell's Life of Johnson (Mr Croker's edition), vol. iii. p. 374.

are informed by another writer, that the island-barbarian was frequently contrasted with Mr Stanhope (the son of Lord Chesterfield), who, after all that could be effected for him by the care and knowledge of a fond father, by the best teachers and the most advantageous circumstances, was far surpassed, at least in the outward graces of personal demeanour, by the rude and ignorant native of a remote island of the Pacific.

But unfortunately his acquirements were limited to the superficial observances of social life. No greater proof of his intelligence has been recorded than his knowledge of the game of chess, in which he became singularly proficient. With that zeal in good works for which he was so distinguished, the benevolent Granville Sharp laboured to instruct the Ulietean in the principles of writing, in which, it is said, he acquired such skill as to be able to pen *one* letter to Dr Solander. Mr Sharp endeavoured likewise to impart to him a knowledge of religious principles; but the attempt met with little success. He appears, indeed, to have possessed a very ordinary intellect, and was far inferior in genius and observation to the unfortunate Tupia, who embarked in the Endeavour, and died at Batavia. The opinion which Cook at first expressed as to the talents of Omai was unquestionably just, although partiality for his savage ward afterwards induced him to think differently.

The rank which he held in his own country was by no means elevated; he belonged to neither of the dominant classes,—the chiefs or the priests. His object in accompanying Captain Furneaux to England appears to have been, a desire to obtain the

means of successfully waging war with the men of Bolabola, expelling them from Ulietea, and regaining possession of his paternal domains.

It has been remarked, that few savages have enjoyed so distinguished a destiny as Omai; he was painted by Reynolds, sung by Cowper, and befriended by Cook; while he enjoyed the society of Johnson, Banks, Lord Sandwich, Burney, Solander, Sharp, Lord Mulgrave, and many others illustrious for their rank or their learning. In his own estimation, perhaps, he was more fortunate, in having been favoured with the notice of the most celebrated beauties of the day, the Crewes, the Cravens, and the Townshends of the last century.

CHAPTER XI.

Cook's Third Voyage.

Objects of the Expedition—Kerguelen's or Desolation Island—Van Diemen's Land—New Zealand—Mangeea, Wenooa-ette and Wateeoo—Palmerston Island—Transactions at the Friendly Islands—The Society Islands—Otaheite—Eimeo—Huaheine—Settlement of Omai there, and Notice of his Life—Ulietea—Bola-bola—Cook sails northward—Christmas Island—Discovers the Sandwich Archipelago—Makes the Coast of New Albion—Nootka Sound—Cook's River—Behring's Strait—Icy Cape—Progress to the North arrested—Revisits the Sandwich Islands—Reception by the Natives—Cook is worshipped as their God Orono—Sails from Karakaooa Bay, but is obliged to return to it—Hostile Disposition of the Natives—The Discovery's Cutter is stolen—Cook goes on Shore to recover it—Interview with the King—A Chief slain—Attack by the Natives—Death of Cook—Recovery and Burial of Part of his Remains—The Voyage is resumed—Death of Captain Clerke—The Ships reach China—Fur-trade—Arrival in England.

WHILE Cook was exploring the depths of the Southern Hemisphere, the British government prepared an expedition to investigate the seas and regions of the Arctic Circle. In 1773, Captain John Phipps, afterwards Lord Mulgrave, sailed from England in order to determine how far navigation was practicable towards the North Pole;* and, though the general result of his lordship's enterprise could

* A notice of this expedition will be found in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. I. Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in the Polar Seas and Regions (3d edition), p. 326-335.

not be regarded as very favourable, hopes were still cherished that a channel between the Atlantic and the Pacific might be discovered on the northern verge of the American continent, and it was resolved that a voyage for this purpose should be undertaken.

Lord Sandwich, anxious to consult Cook as to the management of the enterprise, invited him to dine at his house, along with Sir Hugh Palliser, and Mr Stephens, the secretary to the Admiralty. In the discussion that followed, the importance of the design, the advantages which it would confer on science and navigation, and the fair field which it opened for honour and distinction, were so strongly represented, that the great discoverer, becoming exceedingly animated, at length started to his feet, and declared that he himself would take the command of it. His active and restless spirit seems to have looked with impatience on retirement and repose, however honourable; and scarcely had he returned from his second voyage when we find him longing to engage in a new expedition.* The offer which he now made gratified

* We are indebted to Mr Locker (Gallery of Greenwich Hospital, part i.) for the following letter from Cook, addressed within a week after his appointment in Greenwich Hospital to one of his earliest friends and patrons,—the worthy Quaker to whom he was apprenticed at Whitby:—

"Mile End, August 19th, 1775.

"DEAR SIR,—As I have not now time to draw up an account of such occurrences of the voyage as I wish to communicate to you, I can only thank you for your obliging letter and kind inquiries after me during my absence. I must, however, tell you, that the Resolution was found to answer on all occasions even beyond my expectations, and is so little injured by the voyage that she will soon be sent out again. But I shall not command her: my fate drives me from one extream to another. A few months ago, the whole Southern Hemisphere was hardly big enough for me, and now I am going to be confined within the limits of Greenwich Hospital, which are far too small for an active mind like mine. I must, however, con-

the secret wishes of his noble entertainer, and was most willingly and joyfully accepted. On the 9th of February 1776, he was accordingly re-appointed to the Resolution; Captain Clerke being placed under his orders in command of the Discovery, a vessel of 300 tons, fitted out exactly as the Adventure had been in the former voyage.

The instructions for conducting this expedition were dated on the 6th of July 1776. They directed the captain to make his way to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence "proceed southward in search of some islands said to have been lately seen by the French, in the latitude of 48° S., and about the meridian of Mauritius," that is, 57° 28′ 30″ E. He was then to steer for Otaheite, with power to touch, if he judged it necessary, at New Zealand; and having refreshed his crews there, to run directly for the shores of New Albion, about the parallel of 45° north. Having sailed along the coast till he reached the latitude of 65°, he was ordered "very carefully to search for and to explore such rivers, or inlets, as may appear to be of a considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays, and if there should appear to be a certainty, or even a probability, of a water-passage into the afore-mentioned bays, to use his utmost endeavours to pass through." Failing in this, he was to winter in the port of St Peter and St Paul, in Kamtschatka, and

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fess it is a fine retreat, and a pretty income; but whether I can bring myself to like ease and retirement time will show. Mrs Cook joins with me in best respects to you and all your family, and believe me to be, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend, and humble servant,

"JAMES COOK."

"To Captain John Walker, at Whitby, in Yorkshire."

in the spring to renew the search for a north-east passage into the Atlantic.*

By an act of the legislature passed in 1745, a reward of £20,000 was held out to any ship *not* in his majesty's service, which should discover a channel leading from Hudson's Bay into the Pacific; and, with a view of encouraging the crews, the statute was now amended, so as to bring this noble premium within the reach of the present enterprise. To cooperate with Cook, a vessel was despatched to Baffin's Bay to examine its western shores for an opening into the same ocean; but Lieutenant Young, to whom the command was intrusted, returned without having effected any thing.

The Resolution, with Omai on board, sailed from Plymouth Sound on the 12th July 1776, and was joined by the Discovery at the Cape of Good Hope on the 10th of November. They put to sea on the 3d December, and proceeded south-east, according to their instructions, in search of the alleged French discoveries, the position of which was by no means fully determined.† On the 12th, they fell in with the

* Voyage to the Pacific Ocean for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere (3 vols 4to, 2d edition, London 1785), introduction, p. xxxi-xxxv. Of this work, the first and second volumes were written by Cook, the third by Captain King, while the long and valuable introduction, and the erudite notes and illustrations, were from the pen of Dr Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury.

† The discoveries so vaguely mentioned in the instructions were those made by M. Kerguelen, who sailed from the Isle of France in January 1772, and on the 12th of February, in lat. 50° 5′ S., discovered a high land to which he gave his own name. On his return to France he represented his discovery in such glowing colours, that Louis XV. gave him the cross of St Louis, and sent him out to complete its survey. He reached it in December 1773, and continued to explore its coasts till the 6th of January following. On reaching France he was accused of misconduct, deprived of his rank, and thrown into prison.

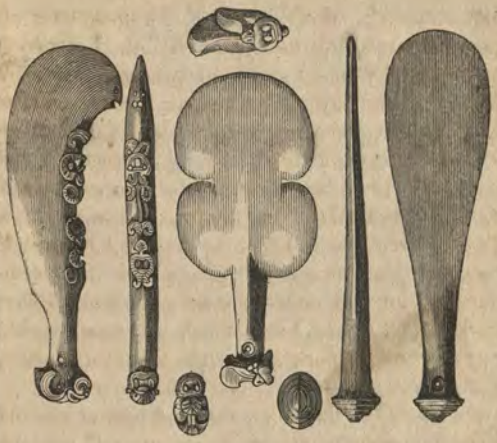
islands seen by Marion and Crozet in 1772. Leaving these, they shaped their course to the southward, and on the 24th, got sight of some small ones about the latitude of 48° 29′ S., and longitude 68° 40′ E., which had been visited and named by Kerguelen in December 1773. On the same day, standing to the south-south-east in search of land seen in the morning, they reached a more extensive coast indented by several bays, among which they expected to find a good harbour. This proved to be the true Kerguelen's Land of which our navigator was in quest; but, in place of being a continent, as was at one time supposed, he found it an inconsiderable and steril island, worthy of the name of Desolation, if delicacy to the discoverer had permitted a change of title. No spot in either hemisphere under the same parallel of latitude, according to the report of Mr Anderson, the surgeon, who officiated as naturalist, presented less employment to the botanist; and its only living creatures were of the marine species, chiefly ursine seals, and birds, as penguins and albatrosses. The hills, though of moderate height, were covered with snow, even at this season, which corresponded with the month of June in England; and the land, where not frozen, was for the most part a mere bog, which yielded at every step.

The voyagers quitted this bleak shore on the 30th of December, and steered east by north for New Zealand. On the 24th of January, they descried the coast of Van Diemen's Land, and two days after, anchored in the bay formerly visited by Captain Furneaux, and by him named Adventure. Here wood and water were procured in abundance; but fodder for the animals on board was not so rea-

dily obtained. While some of the crew were engaged in procuring these supplies, others carried on a successful fishery, and a party was employed in surveying the bay. The natives, who approached without fear, had no weapons of offence, except pointed sticks about two feet long, occasionally used as darts. They were destitute of clothes or ornaments of any kind, but small punctures were observed on different parts of their bodies, some in straight lines and others in curves. They were of the common stature, but rather slender; their skins were black, as also their hair, which was woolly; but they were not remarkable for the other peculiarities of the negro race,—thick lips, or flat noses.

On the 30th, the ships weighed anchor and put to sea, pursuing their course to the east, till the 10th of February, when they came in sight of New Zealand, and on the 12th, anchored in the well-known station of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Several canoes in no long time made their appearance, but very few of those who occupied them would venture on board. Their shy and timid behaviour Cook considered to arise from a dread of punishment for the murder of the boats' crew belonging to the Adventure, and used every means to reassure them of his friendly intentions. In this he was successful; their distrust gradually gave way, every sign of fear vanished, and as amicable an understanding was established as if no evil had ever happened to mar it. The inquiries which he made, as to the melancholy fate of his former companions, were readily answered, though considerable discrepancies appeared in the accounts which he received from different individuals.

The party, it should seem, left their boat in charge



Weapons of New Zealand.

of a black servant, and, unsuspicious of danger, sat down to dinner about 200 yards off, surrounded by the natives, who, at that period, there is reason to believe, entertained no unfriendly designs. During the repast, some of the savages snatched away a portion of the bread and fish, for which they were punished with blows; while, about the same time, one of them detected in pilfering from the boat received a severe stroke from the keeper. His cries alarmed his countrymen, who imagined he was mortally wounded; and as their resentment had been excited by the usage which they themselves experienced, they readily yielded to the desire of revenge. A quarrel instantly ensued, in which two of them were shot dead by the only muskets discharged; more would probably have fallen, had they not rushed upon the English, armed with their

stone weapons, and, overpowering them by numbers, left not one alive. Kahoora, one of the chiefs, acknowledged that he attacked the commander of the party; but endeavoured to justify himself on the ground that one of the muskets fired was levelled at him, and that he only escaped by skulking behind the boat. Whatever truth there might be in his vindication, the natives frequently importuned Cook to kill him, and were surprised that he did not comply with their request. "But if I had followed the advice of all our pretended friends," says he, "I might have extirpated the whole race; for the people of each hamlet, or village, by turns applied to me to destroy the other."*

The voyagers left Queen Charlotte's Sound on the 25th February, carrying with them two native youths, and stood for the Society Islands. On the 29th of March, they came in sight of one, small but inhabited, called by the natives Mangeea, situated in latitude 21° 57′ S. and longitude 201° 53′ E. Its appearance was very pleasing, and indicated a fertile soil. The people, who seemed a fine and vigorous race, were of a tawny colour, and had strong, straight black hair and long beards; the insides of their arms were tattooed in the manner adopted by several of the other islanders of Polynesia; their language was a dialect of that which is common throughout the South Sea. One of them, who ventured on

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 124. In 1827, Mr Earle met with an aged savage who, in answer to inquiries put to him, said he did not remember Cook, but "well recollected Captain Furneaux, and was one of the party which cut off and massacred his boat's crew; and, from other information," adds the author, "which I received, I believe his assertion to have been correct."—Narrative of a Nine Months' Residence in New Zealand, by Augustus Earle (London, 1832), p. 23.

board, happening to stumble over a goat, asked Omai what *bird* it was?

Leaving this island on the afternoon of the 30th, the next day brought the navigators in sight of another similar in appearance and extent, and situated only a few leagues farther to the north. On approaching its shores, a third was observed right ahead; but as it was much smaller, Cook sent boats to look for anchorage and a landing-place on the one first discovered. As they were putting off, some natives rowed to the ships in their canoes, and, when asked, gave a few cocoa-nuts, seemingly without any notion of barter or care for the value of the presents made in return. Soon after their departure, another party arrived, whose conductor brought a bunch of plantains,—a donation which was afterwards understood to be from the chief of the island, and was acknowledged by an axe and a piece of red cloth. In a short time, there came alongside a double canoe, in which were twelve men, who, as they drew near, recited some words in concert, one of them first standing up, and giving note of preparation. This ceremony over, they asked for the commander, to whom they offered a pig, a few cocoa-nuts, and a piece of matting. They were then led through the ship, some of the contents of which surprised them considerably, though none fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid of the cows and horses, but the sheep and goats did not seem wholly strange to them, though, like the native of Mangeea, they supposed these animals to be *birds*. In most points they resembled the inhabitants of that island, although several of them were of darker complexion. No landing having been ef-

fected on this day, the attempt was renewed the next morning by Messrs Gore, Burney, and Anderson, who, accompanied by Omai, at length reached the shore, but amid dangers which occasioned much anxiety to their companions.

Having anchored within 100 yards of the land, two canoes came off to give assistance, which they thought proper to accept; and their conductors, watching the movements of the surf, caught a fit opportunity to push through, and placed them on the reef. On the beach, they were met by several natives, bearing green branches in their hands, who led them among a crowd whose curiosity was so troublesome that it was necessary to repress it by blows from some persons in authority. The party were then guided through an avenue of cocoa-palms, to a number of men, arranged in two rows, armed with clubs, among whom sat a chief cross-legged on the ground, and cooling himself with a leaf used as a fan. After saluting this personage, who was distinguished by large bunches of red feathers placed in his ears, the party approached two others seated in the same posture, and wearing similar ornaments; one of them was remarkable for size and corpulence, though not above thirty years of age; the second, who was apparently older than either, desired the strangers to sit down. The people were then directed to stand aside, and make room for the performance of a dance by about twenty young women, adorned like the chiefs. Their motions, which were dictated by a prompter, or master of the ceremonies, were accompanied by a slow and serious air sung by all the dancers. This entertainment was followed by a mock club-fight.

The island, though never before visited by Europeans, was found to contain three countrymen of Omai, natives of the Society Isles. They were the sole survivors of about twenty persons of both sexes, who, in a voyage from Otaheite to Ulietea, were driven by contrary winds to this spot,—a distance of nearly 200 leagues. They had been here probably twelve years, and were so thoroughly satisfied as to have no wish to return. This incident, says the intelligent navigator, "will serve to explain, better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the islands of the South Sea, may have been first peopled, especially those that lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other."* The native name of the island was ascertained to be Wateeoo; it is described as a place of great beauty, agreeably diversified by hills and plains, and covered with verdure of many hues; it lies in latitude 20° 1′ S. and longitude 201° 45′ E., and is about six leagues in circumference. Mr Anderson pronounces the inhabitants a well-made race, more especially those of rank. Many of the young were perfect models in point of shape, and had delicate complexions. According to the report of Omai, their manners and religion were nearly the same with those of the Society Islands; and their language was equally intelligible to the Otaheitan and to the New Zealanders.

On the morning of the 4th April, Cook proceeded to visit the neighbouring island, which the natives of that which he had left termed indifferently Wenooa-ette and Otakootaia. It lay in latitude 19° 51′ S., and did not exceed three miles in circuit.

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 202.

No human beings were seen; but many traces occurred to show that it was occasionally visited; some deserted huts were observed, and under the shade of trees were found monuments of stone, and enclosed spots which had perhaps been used as sepulchres.

The voyagers now shaped their course towards Hervey Island, observed in the preceding voyage.* To the great surprise of the captain, who had believed the place to be without inhabitants, several canoes put off from the shore. From three to six men were in each, but not one of them could be persuaded to venture on board. Although they differed much in appearance from the natives of Mangeea,—their complexion being of a darker hue, and their aspect more fierce and warlike,—no doubt could be entertained that they were of the same race. The name of their island was Terouggemou Atooa, and they acknowledged that they were subject to the King of Wateeoo; their language was very similar to that of Otaheite. They said they had seen two great ships sail past, but did not speak with them: these must have been the Resolution and Adventure during the former voyage.

Cook resolved, on the 6th, to bear away for the Friendly Islands, at which he was sure to obtain the supplies which the groups he just passed had been found to deny. On the 13th, when in danger of losing his cattle from want of food, he reached Palmerston Island, which he had discovered in 1774.† Here he fortunately procured scurvy-grass, palm-cabbages, and young cocoa-trees for the animals on board; while his crew fared sumptuously on birds, fish, and cocoa-nuts. This cluster, which is unin-

* See above, p. 361. † See above, p. 378.

habited and without water, comprehends nine or ten low islets, which are probably the summits of the coral-reef that connects them together. One, on which a landing was made, was scarcely a mile in circuit, and not more than three feet above the level of the sea; its surface appeared to be merely a coral-sand, with a small mixture of blackish mould; but, notwithstanding the poverty and thinness of this soil, trees and bushes were both numerous and varied. Several small brown rats were seen, conveyed thither, it was conjectured, in a canoe, a fragment of which still remained on the beach.*

From this position, which he left on the 17th, the navigator proceeded westward. On the night of the 24th, he passed Savage Island, discovered in his second voyage;† on the fourth day after, he came in sight of some of the Friendly group, and moored about five miles off Komango or Mango, the natives of which brought cocoa-nuts, plantains, and other articles, in exchange for nails.

On the 1st of May, he dropped anchor at Annamooka (the Rotterdam of Tasman), in the same spot which he had occupied three years before. A few days after his arrival, he met with a chief, whose name has since acquired a European renown,—Feenou or Finow,—who was then only tributary lord of Hapai, but was introduced to Cook as king of all the Friendly Islands, one hundred and fifty-three in number. This individual was found very serviceable in forwarding the object of the voyagers, who experienced no little annoyance from the thievish

* By some continental geographers the name of Cook's Archipelago has been applied to Mangeea, Otakootaia, Hervey Island, and their dependencies. See Balbi. Abrégé de Géographie, p. 1277. Murray's Encyclopædia of Geography, p. 1523.

† See above, p. 378.

disposition of the common people, and even some of the chiefs. After punishing one of the latter by inflicting a dozen lashes and temporary confinement, the nobles no longer pilfered in person, but depredations were continued by their slaves, on whom, we are told, a flogging appeared to make no greater impression than it would have done on the main-mast. The only means by which they could be effectually restrained from pillage was shaving their heads; which at once exposed them to the ridicule of their countrymen, and enabled the English to keep them at a distance.

Finding the supply of provisions almost exhausted in little more than a week, Cook meant to visit Tongataboo; but, by the advice of the king, he proceeded to a group of islands called Hapai, lying to the north-east, of which the principal are Lefooga, Foa, Haano, Wilia, and Hooaleva. After a dangerous passage through a sea studded with shoals, rocks, and small islands, the ships came to an anchor on the 17th May, and soon after, Feenou and Omai undertook the task of formally introducing the captain to the natives of the island. He was conducted to a house on the margin of the sea, where he was seated beside his patrons; while the chiefs and a multitude of people were ranged in a circle outside and in front of the erection. Taipa, a friendly noble, then addressing his countrymen by order of Feenou, exhorted them to behave with kindness and honesty to their visiters, and bring to them supplies of provisions, for which they would receive valuable articles in exchange.

Early next morning, the latter chief came on board, and persuaded the discoverer to accompany him to the shore, where they found a great concourse of the inhabitants. A large quantity of yams and other ar-

ticles having been presented with much pomp, the spectators formed themselves into a ring to witness a succession of single combats, in which the parties fought with clubs. Wrestling and pugilistic matches were also performed, and the voyagers saw with surprise "a couple of lusty wenches step forth and begin boxing, without the least ceremony, and with as much art as the men." These diversions took place in the presence of 3000 people; and the gifts offered on the occasion loaded four boats, and far surpassed any donation yet received in the islands of the Pacific. On first landing, Cook's quick and sagacious eye perceived "that something more than ordinary was in agitation;" but he seems afterwards to have considered that the magnitude of the preparations was sufficiently explained by the munificence of the present. How little was he aware of the dangers which surrounded him! Snares were laid for his destruction; and the chiefs and their followers, who seemed to outvie each other in kindness and hospitality, only awaited a token from Feenou to commence a general massacre. Fortunately, disputes arose among the conspirators which led to the abandonment of the treacherous design, and the games passed on without the expected signal being made.* The treacherous chief, on whose nod the lives

* Mariner's Tonga Islands (3d edition), Edinburgh, 1827, vol. ii. pp. 71, 72. "Mr Mariner," it is said, "had this information at different times from several chiefs who were present, and in particular from Feenou himself, the son of the chief who was at the head of the conspiracy." Had Cook discovered their treacherous intentions, he would have probably hesitated to apply to these islanders the epithet Friendly, which so many events have shown to be singularly undeserved. A witty Frenchman writes, "Nous dîmes adieu aux habitans des îles des *Amis*, dont le nom, ainsi que les bienveillantes dispositions, nous rappellaient si bien nos *amis de* 1815."—D'Urville, Voyage autour du Monde, tome iv. p. 392.

of the strangers had depended, accompanied them on board, and having been entertained at their table, was dismissed with renewed marks of their liberality and friendship. "As soon as he got ashore," says Cook, "he sent me a fresh present, consisting of two large hogs, a considerable quantity of cloth, and some yams." It would be difficult to determine the feelings by which the savage was actuated in this step; whether he was swayed by remorse or by gratitude; if his generosity was a cunning device to obviate suspicion, or if it flowed from a heart softened into penitence by unmerited kindness, and anxious to expiate the crime which it had meditated.

Two days after, the islanders were gratified by witnessing a review of the marines, and by a display of fireworks. The music, performed for their amusement, obtained no praise; the French horns were absolutely despised; and even the drum, which they most admired, was not thought equal to their own. The natives on their part exhibited numerous dances and other entertainments, which were prolonged through a great portion of the night. On the 27th, a large canoe appeared, having a personage on board not previously seen, who was said to be the real king of Tongataboo and all the neighbouring islands. It was with difficulty the commander could be persuaded that Feenou was a subordinate chief; and it was only from the urgent representation of the natives, that he was induced to acknowledge the supremacy of this new visiter. Futtafaihe or Poulaho, for he went by both names, was accordingly invited into the ship, which he was desirous to inspect; and he brought with him a present of two fat hogs. "If weight of body could give weight in rank or power,"

says the captain, "his majesty was certainly the most eminent man we had seen." When introduced into his presence, Feenou paid precisely the usual obeisance, saluting the sovereign's foot with his head and hands, and retiring when the monarch sat down to eat.* Poulaho invited Cook to Tongataboo, which they reached on the 10th June, after a passage dangerous from the number of coral rocks, on which both vessels struck, fortunately without receiving damage.

Their reception was friendly in the extreme, a house was set apart for their use, and they were welcomed with the acclamations of the people. Feenou proved very serviceable, and the treatment experienced from other chiefs, though a little capricious and mercenary, held forth every hope of an amicable intercourse. Feasting occupied a considerable portion of the time, both in the ships and on the shore. It was frequently troublesome in the former, owing to the number who thronged into the cabin, provided neither the spiritual sovereign nor Feenou was there,—the presence of either generally operating as an exclusion to all the rest. His majesty's visits

* Cook failed to acquire a correct knowledge of the peculiar government of the Tonga Archipelago. Poulaho was *Touitonga*, that is, a divine chief of supreme rank, and of absolute power in religious affairs, but of little authority in secular matters. His person is considered sacred, and the highest chiefs must perform towards him the humiliating ceremony of saluting his feet. "Dans les attributions du toui-tonga," says D'Urville, "il est difficile de ne pas saisir sur-le-champ une ressemblance assez frappante avec le caractère et les honneurs dont les chrétiens catholiques avaient environné la personne du chef de leur religion: puissance spirituelle sans bornes, une demi-divinité, autorité temporelle plus ou moins étendue, baisemens de pieds et tributs universels."—Voyage, tome iv. p. 235. Feenou was in possession of the temporal and executive power of the state, in virtue of an office somewhat analogous to that of the Maire du Palais in France; and his family eventually succeeded in deposing Touitonga.

were, consequently, much prized by his host, and appeared to be far from disagreeable to himself. He was soon reconciled to English fare: "But still, I believe," says the former, "he dined thus frequently with me, more for the sake of what we gave him to drink, than for what we set before him to eat. For he had taken a liking to our wine, could empty his bottle as well as most men, and was as cheerful over it." This social communication did not prevent many depredations by the lower orders, whose repeated and daring offences became at length so serious, that it was necessary they should be effectually checked. On the disappearance of a kid and two turkey-cocks, Cook had recourse to a measure, which he had found not unsuccessful on former occasions. "I could not be so simple," he says, "as to suppose that this was merely an accidental loss; and I was determined to have them again. The first step I took was to seize on three canoes that happened to be alongside the ships. I then went ashore, and, having found the king, his brother, Feenou, and some other chiefs, in the house that we occupied, I immediately put a guard over them, and gave them to understand, that they must remain under restraint, till not only the kid and the turkeys, but the other things that had been stolen from us at different times, were restored. They concealed as well as they could their feelings on finding themselves prisoners; and, having assured me that every thing should be restored as I desired, sat down to drink their *kava*, seemingly much at their ease. It was not long before an axe and an iron wedge were brought to me. In the mean time, some armed natives began to gather behind

the house; but, on a part of our guard marching against them, they dispersed, and I advised the chiefs to give orders that no more should appear. Such orders were accordingly given by them, and they were obeyed. On asking them to go aboard with me to dinner, they readily consented; but some having afterwards objected to the king's going, he instantly rose up, and declared he would be the first man. Accordingly, we came on board. I kept them there till near four o'clock, when I conducted them ashore, and soon after the kid and one of the turkey-cocks were brought back. The other, they said, should be restored the next morning. I believed this would happen, and released both them and the canoes."* This confidence was verified by the result; the remaining fowl and most of the articles that had been stolen were soon after returned, and the expedient which had been adopted had not the slightest prejudicial effect on the friendly dispositions of the king or his nobles.

A few days before his departure, Cook entertained Poulaho at dinner. The monarch was observed to take particular notice of the plates, and having obtained one of pewter, mentioned two remarkable purposes to which he meant to apply it. When he had occasion to visit any other island, he would leave the dish at Tongataboo as a representative, to which the people would pay the same obeisance as to his own person; and, on being asked what had performed this service before, he replied, "A wooden bowl in which he washed his hands." The other use was for a species of ordeal: when a theft was committed, and the guilty person could

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 304.

not be discovered, the people were assembled before him, and when he had washed his hands in the plate, they advanced one after another to touch it, in the same manner as they touched his foot on other occasions. If the robber ventured to lay his hands on the sacred vessel, he was overtaken by instant death, not by violence, but by the finger of Providence; if, on the contrary, he declined the test, his refusal was considered a clear proof of his guilt.*

After a sojourn of nearly three months, during which time the most cordial friendship was maintained, our countryman bade adieu to the Tonga Islands on the 17th of July. The time which he passed among them was by no means unprofitably spent, as the season for proceeding to the north had gone by before he resolved to visit them, and more especially as the abundance of fresh provisions enabled him to spare his sea-stock. He likewise benefited the people, by leaving with them several useful animals, while he recruited those which were destined for Otaheite.

On the 8th of August, in latitude 23° 25′ S., longitude 210° 37′ E., the voyagers discovered a

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 326. More than thirty years afterwards, Mr Mariner saw this dish in the possession of Touitonga's son. Cook does not seem to have been made fully aware of the purposes to which it was destined, which are thus explained by the other:—"If any one is *tabooed* [consecrated or set apart] by touching the person or garments of Touitonga, there is no other chief can relieve him from his *taboo*, because no chief is equal to him in rank; and to avoid the inconvenience arising from his absence, a consecrated bowl (or some such thing) belonging to Touitonga is applied to and touched instead of his feet. In Mr Mariner's time, Touitonga always left a pewter dish for this purpose, which dish was given to his father by Captain Cook."—Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 188. This ceremony is termed *móë-móë*, and until it is performed no person who is *tabooed* will dare to feed himself with his own hands. The "wooden bowl," which was formerly used in this rite, it is said, was given to the ancestor of Poulaho by Tasman, in 1643.—Quarterly Review, vol. ii. p. 32.

small island, called by the natives Toobouai, and surrounded by a coral reef, on which there was a violent surf. The inhabitants, who spoke the language of the Society Islands, appeared to be unarmed.*

From this he steered northwards, and, on the fourth day after, came in sight of the S. E. end of Otaheite, whence several canoes came off. Those on board seemed scarcely to recognise the travelled Ulietean, and the meeting even with his brother-in-law was cold and distant, until he presented him with a few red feathers; upon which the heart of the latter warmed, and he begged that Omai and he might be *tayos* or friends, and exchange names. The crimson plumes produced an alteration equally favourable on the rest of his countrymen. Our navigator counselled him to economize the treasures with which he had been loaded in Britain, so that he might be respected in his own land; but the advice was little regarded, and he allowed himself to be cheated by every cunning flatterer. "His first interview with his sister," we are told, "was marked with expressions of the tenderest affection, easier to be conceived than to be described;" and an old woman, sister to his mother, equally fervent in her joy, fell at his feet and bedewed them with her tears. Having anchored in Oaitipiha Bay,† Cook proceeded to inspect his

* This place, where Christian and the mutineers of the Bounty endeavoured to effect a settlement in 1789, Lord Byron has selected as the scene of his poem of The Island, altering the name for the sake of euphony into Toobonai.

† On going ashore at this place, Cook found a wooden house erected on the margin of the sea, and near it a cross, with the inscription, "CHRISTUS VINCIT—CAROLUS III. IMPERAT, 1774." They had been raised, he was told, by the crews of two vessels, which had recently visited the island, and which he rightly conjectured had been despatched from the Spanish settlements in South America. He was not able, however, to obtain any certain infor-

provisions, caulk the vessels, and make other necessary arrangements. Knowing the excellence of the cocoa-nut liquor, he was desirous of prevailing on

mation regarding the voyage; and it is only within the last year that an account of its transactions has been brought to light, by a manuscript presented to the Geographical Society of Paris by M. H. Ternaux. An abstract of this interesting document, by M. D'Urville, is inserted in the Bulletin of the Society for March 1834 (2nd série, tome i. p. 145-164); and some farther details of the enterprise have appeared in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London (vol. iv. p. 182-191).

In October 1771, the court of Spain, alarmed at the late visits of the English to the South Sea, gave orders to the Viceroy of Lima to prepare, without delay, an expedition to examine the Society Archipelago, and particularly Otaheite, and to report upon the capabilities, population, and resources of these islands. The viceroy in consequence fitted out the Aguila frigate; which, under the command of Don Domingo Bonechea, sailed from Callao on the 26th of September 1772. She reached Otaheite on the 10th of November, and on the 26th of March 1773 arrived at Valparaiso. The commander made a very favourable representation of the countries he had been sent to explore; and, in conveying his journals and observations to the king, "I could not," says the viceroy, "but at the same time strongly express my own opinion to his majesty, as to the great prejudice which would result to his dominions in these seas if any other power were permitted to take previous possession of them."

These views met the approbation of the court of Madrid, and Captain Bonechea was again despatched to the Society group. He sailed from Callao on the 20th September 1774, having on board two monks of the order of St Francis, a portable house, sheep and cattle, seeds and implements, two natives brought away in the previous voyage, and a linguist, to be left at Otaheite with the missionaries. On the 30th October, he discovered an island, which he named San Narcisso, and which is believed to be the same with Ile Daugier of Duperrey. The next day, he descried another, which he called Las Animas (the Moller of Billinghausen, and the Freycinet of Duperrey). On the 1st of November, he discerned one which he had seen in his previous voyage, and denominated San Simon et Judes; it is supposed to be identical with the Resolution of Cook (see above, p. 357). On the morning of the 3d, he saw a low isle (the Doubtful of the great English navigator), which he entitled Los Martines; and, in the evening of the same day, another, which he designated San Quintin; the latter seems to be that on which Beechey, in 1826, bestowed the appellation of Croker, in honour of the very learned and talented Secretary to the Admiralty. The following afternoon, he observed a third, on which he conferred the title of Todos Santos, and which is apparently the Chain Island of Cook. At sunset of the 8th, the summits of Ota-

his seamen to exchange for it part of their allowance of spirits during their stay at the island; and having assembled the ship's company, he represented the advantages of this measure, in an address so clear and judicious, that his own crew first, and afterwards that of Captain Clerke, readily concurred in the proposal.

On the 23d, the vessels were removed to Matavai, where the caulking and other operations could be

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heite (or, as he designs it, Amat) came in sight; and on the 27th, he anchored in the harbour of Oaitipiha. The building of the wooden mansion was completed towards the end of the year; and on the 1st of January 1775, the symbol of Christianity seen by Cook was erected on the shore with great pomp, amid the chanting of masses and discharges of muskets and artillery. Having landed the cattle, the captain set sail on the 7th, and passing by Eimeo and Huaheine, touched at Ulietea; and having descried Bolabola, Tabuaemanu, Tetburoa, and Maupete or Maurua, returned to Otaheite on the 20th. Six days after, Boncohea died, and was interred with becoming ceremony at the foot of the cross. The command now devolved on Don Tomas Gayangos, who on the 28th made sail for Lima, where he arrived in April, having seen and named in his route the islands Santa Rosa (the Ravavai or Vavitou of modern maps), San Juan (the Melville of Beechey), San Julian (the Adventure of Cook), and San Blas (the Tchitshagoff of Billinghausen). "The result of this voyage," we are told, "was the examination of twenty-one islands, nine of which were low, and the others lofty. A particular account of them, as well as the track of the frigate correctly laid down, and all the details of the interesting expedition, were immediately forwarded to Spain."

Anxiety for the fate of the missionaries left at Otaheite prompted a third visit; and, on the 27th September 1775, the Aguila, under the command of Don Cayetano de Langara, once more set sail from Callao. After a voyage of thirty-six days, the captain anchored in the harbour of Oaitipiha. He found that the missionaries, who were determined to abandon their task, had made no progress in the conversion of the natives, and were so alarmed by the human sacrifices prevalent in the island, that nothing but a Spanish garrison would have induced them to remain. It was in vain that the commander called to their recollection their high and holy vocation, and exhorted them to persist in the glorious work they had begun. Having embarked in the Aguila, they returned to Callao on the 17th of February 1776. "Il est remarquable," writes M. D'Urville, "qu'à l'époque des deux expéditions en 1772 et 1774, les Espagnols n'aient point senti ni même soupçonné que Taïti (Otaheite) et Maïtea (Maitea or Osnaburg) pouvaient se rapporter aux îles Sagittaria et Dezena, découvertes au commencement du xvii. siècle par leur compatriote Quiros."

more conveniently carried on. Cook found the sovereign, his ancient friend Otoo, as anxious as ever to relieve his wants by ample supplies of provisions, and to contribute to his amusement by sports and entertainments. In return for these important services, the Englishman made him various presents of poultry and other animals. Omai here conducted himself with such imprudence, that he soon lost the friendship and respect of the king and every chief of rank: "He associated," says Cook, "with none but vagabonds and strangers, whose sole views were to plunder him; and if I had not interfered, they would not have left him a single article worth the carrying from the island." The voyagers here met with their former companion, Oedidee, who, in 1773, had accompanied them from Ulietea and visited the Tonga Archipelago, New Zealand, and the Marquesas, and who now took pains to evince his superior civilisation by constant repetitions of "Yes, sir," or "If you please, sir." He entertained his ancient shipmates at a dinner of fish and pork,—the latter consisting of a hog weighing thirty pounds, which was killed and served up at table within an hour.

On the fourteenth of September, the two captains mounted on horseback, and rode round the whole plain of Matavai, "to the very great surprise of a great train of people who attended on the occasion, gazing on them with as much astonishment as if they had been centaurs." Though this feat was repeated daily, the curiosity of the islanders continued unabated. They were exceedingly delighted with the animals, which perhaps impressed them with a higher notion of the greatness of European nations than all the novelties previously exhibited.

On the 22d, the commander submitted to a native

cure for a rheumatic affection, under which he at that time laboured. The process, called *romee*, and generally performed by females, was of the same nature with that to which Wallis and two of his officers had been subjected. "I was desired," says he, "to lay myself down. Then, as many of them as could get round me began to squeeze me with both hands, from head to foot, but more particularly on the parts where the pain was lodged, till they made my bones crack, and my flesh became a perfect mummy. In short, after undergoing this discipline about a quarter of an hour, I was glad to get away from them. However, the operation gave me immediate relief, which encouraged me to submit to another rubbing-down before I went to bed; and it was so effectual, that I found myself pretty easy all the night after. My female physicians repeated their prescription the next morning, and again in the evening; after which I found the pains entirely removed."*

The repeated visits of our countryman had created a persuasion among the natives that the intercourse would be continued; and Otoo enjoined Cook to request the *Earee rahie no Pretane*, the King of Britain, to send to him, by the next ships, red feathers, with the birds which produced them, also axes, muskets, powder, shot, and horses. He followed this solicitation with an assurance that, should the Spaniards, who had recently been there, return, he would not permit them to occupy Matavai Fort, which he said belonged to the English. This remark showed with what facility a settlement might be made at Otaheite, which, however, the great navigator hoped would never happen; apprehending that, conducted as most European establishments among savage nations have un-

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 63.

fortunately been, it would give the people just cause to lament that their island had ever been discovered. "Indeed," he adds, "it is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purposes of public ambition nor of private avarice; and, without such inducements, I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken."*

On the 29th, Cook took his departure from Otaheite, and the next day anchored in Eimeo, which he now visited for the first time. During a stay of six days, he was hospitably entertained, and the greatest harmony subsisted between him and the inhabitants; but when he was on the eve of quitting the island, one of his goats was stolen,—a loss which interfered with his views of stocking other places with these animals. Having resolved to use every possible expedient for its recovery, he in the first place employed menaces, but with so little effect, that in the mean while another was taken away. Some of the natives alleged that it had strayed into the woods, and went off as if in quest of it; but not one of them returned; and the people began to leave the neighbourhood,—the usual indication of conscious

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 77. Cowper would seem to have had this passage in his view when he wrote his verses on Omai, which thus conclude:—

"We found no bait
To tempt us in thy country. Doing good,
Disinterested good, is not our trade.
We travel far, 'tis true, but not for nought;
And must be bribed to compass earth again
By other hopes and richer fruits than yours."

"The ship Duff had not sailed," says Mr Ellis, in allusion to these lines, "and the spirit of missionary enterprise was not aroused in the British churches. Had Cowper witnessed these operations of Christian benevolence, he would have cheered with his own numbers those who had gone out from Britain and other lands, not only to civilize, but to attempt the moral renovation of the heathen."—Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 375.

delinquency. Having regained the animal first abstracted, Cook, in order to obtain restitution of the other, despatched a boat to that part of the country where it was said to be. The officers intrusted with the duty having returned after a fruitless search, he proceeded the next morning with thirty-five men across the island, three armed boats being at the same time ordered to support them if necessary. The inhabitants fled at their first approach, but, on being assured of safety, remained in their dwellings. Still no benefit resulted from the expedition, which was more than once artfully misdirected, and in danger of being attacked. Having gathered some of the natives together, he informed them, that unless the goat were immediately delivered up, he would set fire to their houses and boats. Even this menace failed; and, in consequence, six or eight huts and several war-canoes were consumed. The day however passed, and the animal was not restored till next evening, nor without a repetition of the same severities. The following morning, he took his departure, and at noon of the 12th October anchored at Huaheine.

The chief object entertained in visiting this island was the establishment of Omai in safety and independence. It was his own desire to settle in Ulietea, where, as was formerly mentioned, his father had been deprived of some territorial possessions when the island was conquered by the warriors of Bolabola. "I made no doubt," says the captain, "of being able to get the paternal inheritance restored to the son in an amicable manner; but he was too great a patriot to listen to any such thing, and was vain enough to suppose that I would reinstate him by force." This belief seems, indeed, to have taken strong possession of his mind. From the commence-

ment of the voyage, the defeat and expulsion of the invaders were his constant themes, and he delighted to indulge in dreams of their flight, when the tidings of his return with the powerful strangers should be spread throughout the islands. For some time no remonstrances could dispel these delusions, and "he flew into a passion if more moderate and reasonable counsels were proposed for his advantage;" but, as he drew nearer to his home, his sanguine hopes sank into despondence, and he would have willingly remained at Tonga under the protection of Feenou. He appears, however, still to have cherished some expectations that the English would employ their arms to replace him in his father's lands; and it was not until Cook peremptorily declared, that he would neither assist in such an enterprise nor allow it to be undertaken, that the Ulietean consented to take up his abode in Huaheine, along with the youths who had come on board at New Zealand. The grant of a piece of ground on the seashore having been obtained from the chiefs by the influence of our countryman, the carpenters of both ships proceeded to erect a house. A small garden was enclosed, and stocked with shaddocks, vines, pine-apples, melons, and the seeds of several other vegetables. The European arms which Omai possessed were a musket, bayonet, and cartouche-box, a fowling-piece, two pairs of pistols, and several swords or cutlasses; besides these he was furnished with a helmet and coat of mail, numerous toys and trinkets, a portable organ, an electrical machine, fireworks, hatchets, iron tools, and kitchen utensils; and there were left with him a horse and mare, a boar and two sows, and a male and female kid. To conciliate the chiefs and

secure their protection, he made them valuable presents; while Cook threatened them with the weight of his resentment if his friend were injured.

On the second of November, a favourable breeze springing up, the vessels got under weigh. Long after the other islanders had taken their departure, Omai, melancholy and dejected, lingered on deck. It is related by a journalist of the voyage, that he so much dreaded lest, after the departure of the squadron, he should be despoiled of his wealth, and reduced to his former insignificance, that he earnestly entreated to be taken back to Britain;* and it was not until the ships were out at sea, that he proceeded to bid farewell to the officers. When he came to part with the captain he burst into tears, and continued to weep bitterly as the boat conveyed him to the shore.

For many years the fate of this "gentle savage" was an interesting topic for speculation in England; and, as Cook predicted, with "future navigators of that ocean, it could not but be a principal object of curiosity to trace his fortunes." But a long time elapsed ere a sail returned from those favoured islands with tidings of his lot, to contrast the harsh reality of truth with the glowing picture which the fancy of Cowper had delineated:—

"The dream is past; and thou hast found again
Thy cocoas and bananas, palms and yams,
And homestall thatch'd with leaves. But hast thou found
Their former charms? And, having seen our state,
Our palaces, our ladies, and our pomp
Of equipage, our gardens, and our sports,
And heard our music; are thy simple friends,
Thy simple fare, and all thy plain delights,
As dear to thee as once? And have thy joys
Lost nothing by comparison with ours?
Rude as thou art (for we returned thee rude

* Journal of Captain Cook's last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, faithfully narrated from the original MS. Lond. 1781, 8vo. Analyzed in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. li. pp. 231-234, 278, 279.

And ignorant, except of outward show),
I cannot think thee yet so dull of heart
And spiritless, as never to regret
Sweets tasted here, and left as soon as known.
Methinks I see thee straying on the beach,
And asking of the surge, that bathes thy foot,
If ever it has wash'd our distant shore.
I see thee weep, and thine are honest tears,
A patriot's for his country: thou art sad
At thought of her forlorn and abject state,
From which no pow'r of thine can raise her up.
Thus Fancy paints thee, and, though apt to err,
Perhaps errs little, when she paints thee thus.
She tells me, too, that duly every morn
Thou climb'st the mountain-top, with eager eye
Exploring far and wide the wat'ry waste
For sight of ship from England. Ev'ry speck
Seen in the dim horizon turns thee pale
With conflict of contending hopes and fears.
But comes at last the dull and dusky eve,
And sends thee to thy cabin, well prepared
To dream all night of what the day denied."*

How different from this was the real life of Omai! Speedily abandoning his European dress, and adopting the costume of the islanders, he sank into their indolence, barbarism, and vice. The horses which were left with him, he regarded only as means of exciting the fear or the wonder of his countrymen; and, far from lamenting their forlorn state with the tears of a patriot, his childish vanity found constant gratification in the superiority which the English presents enabled him to assume. His fire-arms rendered him a powerful subject, and secured for him the hand of his sovereign's daughter, with the dignity or title of *Paari* (wise or instructed). Henceforth he continued the inglorious tool of the king's cruel and wanton humour, assisting him with his musket in time of war, and in peace frequently amusing the monarch by shooting at his subjects at a distance, or gratifying his revenge by despatching with a

* The Task, book i.

pistol in the royal presence those who had incurred his wrath. He died within three years after his celebrated voyage, and the New Zealanders did not long outlive him. It was expected by many that, by imparting the arts and civilisation of Europe, he would acquire the title of his country's benefactor; but his name is now rarely mentioned except with contempt or execration. The site of his dwelling is by the natives still called Beritani (Britain); and amid the ruins of the garden, they show a dark and glossy-leaved shaddock-tree, which they love to tell was planted by the hands of Cook. The horses which he left did not long survive, but the breed of goats and pigs yet remains; many of the trinkets, part of the armour, and some of the cutlasses, are also preserved, and the numerous coloured engravings of a large quarto Bible are objects of general attraction. There is, perhaps, no place in the island to which greater interest is attached; for, besides its associations with the names just mentioned, on this spot was reared the first building in which the true God was publicly worshipped in Huaheine; and here also was erected the first school for the instruction of the benighted inhabitants in the knowledge of letters and the principles of Christianity.*

Cook now stood over for Ulietea, where he moored on the 4th of November. A few days afterwards, a marine, yielding to the enticements of the natives, deserted with his musket and accoutrements. He was speedily apprehended; but little more than a week had elapsed when a midshipman and a sailor were missing from the Discovery. Captain Clerke set out in quest of the fugitives, but returned after a fruitless day's toil, impressed with the belief

* Ellis, Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 364-372.

that the inhabitants were desirous to conceal them. The commander resolved to undertake the search in person; but he proved not more fortunate than his colleague; and, as a last resort, he determined to detain the chief's son, daughter, and son-in-law, till the deserters were delivered up. Oreo, deeply alarmed for the safety of his family, lost no time in making every exertion for the recovery of the runagates; while the common people bewailed the captivity of such eminent personages with long and loud exclamations of sorrow. Not trusting for their release to the stipulated condition, or too impatient to await its fulfilment, they formed a conspiracy to secure the person of Cook and that of his second in command. The former had been accustomed to bathe every evening, often alone, and always without arms; but, after confining the chief's family, he deemed such exposure imprudent; and, at the same time, cautioned his officers against going far from the ships. Oreo betrayed his knowledge of the design by repeatedly asking him, if he would not go to the bathing-place. Being thus disappointed, it was determined to seize on Messrs Clerke and Gore, who had landed; and, accordingly, a party of the natives armed with clubs advanced against them, while some canoes were preparing to intercept their retreat to the ship. A few shots, though they fortunately wounded no one, dispersed these assailants; and the next night, the deserters having been recovered, the prisoners were set at liberty.

On the seventh December, the voyagers quitted Ulietea and steered for Bolabola, in order to purchase an anchor which had been lost by Bougainville at Otaheite, and brought hither by the natives as a present to the warlike Opoony. Cook's wish to possess it arose, not from his being in want of such an

implement, but from the necessity of having iron tools to trade with, and from his original stock being exhausted. He lost no time, therefore, in offering for it a night-gown, a shirt, some gauze handkerchiefs, a looking-glass, some beads, with other toys, and six axes. At the sight of these last articles there was a general shout, and the chief refused to accept the commodities till the English were put in possession of the anchor. It was found to be so greatly mutilated, that Opoony probably considered it quite inadequate to the value of the goods proposed in exchange; but our navigator, gratified by the fair conduct of the chief, took it, and sent in return all the articles originally intended. The Bolabola men were esteemed invincible by their neighbours, and had extended the fame, if not the terror of their arms, as far as to Otaheite. The present of the anchor was a proof of the awe in which they were held; nor was this the only gift which they had acquired, for a ram, left by the Spaniards, had been transported hither from the same island. The captain, on being informed of this fact, put a ewe on shore, in hopes of producing a breed of sheep. At Ulietea he left pigs and goats, and from the numerous presents which he had dispensed, he was of opinion, that in a few years this archipelago would be stocked with all the valuable domestic animals of Europe. "When once this comes to pass," he remarks, "no part of the world will equal these islands in variety and abundance of refreshments for navigators. Indeed, even in their present state, I know no place that excels them. After repeated trials in the course of several voyages, we find, when they are not disturbed by intestine broils, but live in amity with one another, which has been the case

for some years past, that their productions are in the greatest plenty; and particularly the most valuable of all the articles, their hogs."*

On the eighth of December, he took his departure from Bolabola, and made sail to the northward. Seventeen months had elapsed since he left England, yet he was aware, "that with regard to the principal object of his instructions, the voyage was at this time only beginning." He had now reached the limits of his former navigation, and entered upon a region rarely traversed, and never thoroughly explored. In the night between the 22d and 23d, he crossed the equator in longitude 203° 15′ E.; and, soon after daybreak on the 24th, saw a low island, of a very barren appearance, on which he bestowed the title of Christmas. It was uninhabited, was about fifteen or twenty leagues in circumference, and of semicircular form. No fresh water could be found on it, and only a few low trees; but it abounded with turtle, of which about 300 were caught, "of the green kind, and perhaps as good as any in the world."

The voyagers weighed anchor on the 2d January 1778, and resumed their course towards the north, favoured by serene skies and gentle breezes. On reaching the latitude of 10° 30′ N., various birds and turtles were seen every day, and regarded as indications of the vicinity of land. None, however, was discovered till the morning of the 18th, when an island appeared, bearing north-east by east; soon after, another was seen bearing north; and, on the 19th, a third, in a west-north-west direction. Doubts were entertained whether the second, which lay most convenient for approach, had any inhabitants, till some canoes came off, having in each from three

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 134.

to six men, who, to the agreeable surprise of our navigators, spoke the language of Otaheite. Though easily prevailed on to come alongside, they could not be persuaded to venture on board. The name of their island was ascertained to be Atooi or Tauai; they were of a brown complexion, and a considerable diversity was observable in their features, some of which were not very different from those of Europeans. The greater number had their hair, which was naturally black, but dyed of a brown colour, cropt short; others permitted it to flow unconfined in loose tresses; and a few wore it tied in a bunch on the crown of the head. In general they had beards; no ornaments were observed on their persons, nor were their ears bored; some showed punctures on their hands or near the groin; and the pieces of cloth worn by them were curiously stained of various hues. On certain rare occasions they wore a kind of mask, made of a large gourd, with a perforation for the eyes and nose; the top was adorned with small green twigs, and from the lower part hung stripes of cloth.

No anchorage being found here, the vessels bore away to leeward, when the canoes departed; but as the discoverers sailed along the coast others succeeded, bringing roasting-pigs and some fine potatoes, which the owners readily exchanged for whatever was offered to them. Several villages were seen,—some on the margin of the sea, others in the interior of the country; and the inhabitants were perceived thronging to the shore for the purpose of viewing the ships, which passed the night standing off and on. In the morning, as they were moving towards the land, several canoes approached, and some of the natives had the courage to come on board. Never before, in the course of his voyages, had our

Man of Sandwich Islands in a Mask.

navigator witnessed such astonishment as these savages displayed. Their eyes wandered from one object to another in restless amazement; they endeavoured to seize every thing they came near; and the wildness of their looks and actions proved them to be totally unused to European visiters, and ignorant of all their commodities,—iron alone excepted; and of this it was evident that they had merely heard, or obtained a small quantity at a distant period. When asked what it was, they replied, "We do not know; we only understand it as *toe* or *hamaite*,"—the former signifying a hatchet, and the latter, probably referring to some native instrument, in the construction of which iron might be advantageously substituted for stone or bone. When beads were

shown to them, they inquired "Whether they should eat them?" When their use was explained, they were given back as of no value, and a looking-glass was regarded with equal indifference. Plates of earthenware and china-cups were so new to their eyes, that they asked if they were made of wood.

About three o'clock, the vessels succeeded in anchoring, and Cook rowed to the land with three armed boats and a party of marines. "The very instant," he says, "I leaped on shore, the collected body of the natives all fell flat upon their faces, and remained in that very humble posture till by expressive signs I prevailed upon them to rise. They then brought a great many small pigs, which they presented to me, with plantain-trees, using much the same ceremonies that we had seen practised on such occasions at the Society and other islands; and a long prayer being spoken by a single person, in which others of the assembly sometimes joined. I expressed my acceptance of their proffered friendship, by giving them in return such presents as I had brought with me from the ship for that purpose."* The same deferential obeisance was afterwards paid to him during an excursion which he made through the country; and he believed it to be the mode in which the natives manifested respect to their own chiefs. The people assisted his men in rolling casks to and from the watering-place, readily performed whatever was required of them, and merited the commendations of their visiters by fair dealing; there having been no attempt to cheat or to steal after the first interview.

On the morning of the 23d, a breeze sprung up at north-east, when, to avoid being driven on shore, it

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 198.

became necessary to stand out to procure sea-room; and the adverse winds and currents having drifted the vessels far from the harbour, after several unsuccessful attempts to regain it, they anchored off the neighbouring island of Oneeheow or Ni-Hau. Here the captain deposited some goats, pigs of the English breed, and various useful seeds, which he had intended for Atooi. The provisions obtained at these islands were reckoned sufficient for nearly four weeks' consumption; and, having thus recruited his stores, on the 2d of February, he made sail with a gentle breeze to the northward. "Of what number," he says, "this newly-discovered archipelago consists, must be left for future investigation." Besides those visited, three others were seen, Woahoo or Oahu, Oreehoua, Tahoora or Taura. This group, lying between the latitudes of 21° 30′, and 22° 15′ N., and 199° 20′, and 201° 30′ east longitude, received, in honour of the first lord of the admiralty, the name of THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

On the 7th, the wind, having veered to south-east, enabled the voyagers to steer north-east and east till the 12th, when another change induced them to stand to the northward. About a fortnight after, when proceeding more towards the east, they met with rockweed or sea-leek, and now and then a piece of wood floated past. During the whole of this course, scarcely a bird or living creature was seen; but, on the 6th of March, two large fowls settled near the ships. The next day, two seals and several whales were observed; and the dawn of the 7th revealed the anxiously-expected coast of New Albion, in latitude 44° 33′ N., longitude 235° 20′ E. It was richly wooded, of moderate height, and di-

versified with hills and valleys. To its northern extremity Cook gave the name of Cape Foulweather, from the gales which he experienced in its vicinity, and which obliged him to tack off and on several days. At length, after various hazards, a large opening was observed on the 29th, in latitude 49° 15′ N., longitude 233° 20′ E., and from its promising appearance received the title of Hope Bay. Into this inlet he sailed four miles, when the night closing in, he came to anchor in deep water, within a hawser's length of the shore.

It was certain that the country was inhabited: a village was observed on the western side of the sound; and three canoes shaped like Norway yawls came off. When they drew near, a native rose and made a long oration, apparently inviting the strangers to land, and at the same time he continued strewing feathers towards them, while some of his companions scattered handfuls of red powder. The speaker, who was dressed in the skin of an animal, held in each hand a kind of rattle; and when he sat down, another began to declaim in his turn, in a language wholly unintelligible to their visiters. They then quietly conversed among themselves, betraying neither distrust nor surprise; some of them occasionally stood up and made harangues; and one sang a very pleasant air, with a softness quite unexpected.

The next day, the vessels were removed to a safer anchorage, amid a great concourse of the inhabitants. Their disposition was quiet and friendly, and they willingly supplied the voyagers with such provisions as they possessed, though their refusal to accept any thing but metal in exchange gave rise to some perplexity. They preferred brass to iron; and we are told that, to gratify their demands, "whole suits of

Man of Nootka Sound.

clothes were stripped of every button, bureaux of their furniture, and copper-kettles, tin-canisters, candlesticks, and the like, all went to wreck." The name of the sound was Nootka; and the natives are described as being under the common size, with full round visages and small black eyes. In many individuals the ears were perforated in two or three places, for the purpose of suspending bits of bone, quills fixed on a thong of leather, shells, bunches of woollen tassels, or pieces of thin copper. Ornaments of iron, brass, or copper, shaped like a horse's shoe, were frequently introduced into the septum of the nose, from which they dangled over the upper lip. The sexes so nearly resembled each other in dress and stature, that it was difficult to distinguish them; the females, it is said, "possess no natural delicacies suf-

Woman of Nootka Sound.

ficient to render their persons agreeable."* Nearly a month was passed in uninterrupted friendship among these savages; and when the ships weighed anchor, they followed the strangers to the mouth of the sound, importuning them to repeat their visit, and promising an ample supply of skins.

The voyagers reached the open sea on the 26th of April; but scarcely had they cleared the land, when a storm coming on, accompanied with such darkness that they could not see beyond the ship's length, they were obliged to stand out from the shore with

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 303. The reader will find some details of Cook's proceedings on the American shores in the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX., Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, p. 104-110.

all the sail which the vessels could carry. They did not regain the coast till the 1st of May, in the parallel of 55° 20′; on the 4th they saw Mount St Elias, in latitude 58° 52′, and nine days after came to anchor in an inlet two degrees towards the north, on which they bestowed the name of Prince William's Sound. The natives were strong chested, with thick stout necks and heads disproportionately large; their hair was black and straight; and their beards, which were generally thin, were in many altogether wanting. "A mark," says Admiral Burney, "which distinguished these people from every other known, was their under lips being perforated or slit through in a line parallel to the mouth, and about three quarters of an inch lower, through which they wore pieces of carved bone; and sometimes, which had a hideous effect, they would remove the bone-ornament, and thrust as much as they could of their tongue through the opening."* This incision, indeed, was not universally adopted, and the sailor who first noticed it, called out that the man had two mouths. The ears, however, were generally pierced, and bunches of beads suspended from them; while the nose was ornamented by thrusting through the septum a quill of three or four inches in length. They wore high truncated caps of straw or wood, like those observed at Nootka. The females allowed their hair to grow long, and the majority tied a small lock of it on the crown. In some the lower lip was bored in several places, to admit the introduction of strings of shells or beads of such length as occasionally to hang below the point of the chin.

The commander sailed hence on the 20th, and pur-

* Burney's Chronological History of North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery (London, 1819), p. 222.

sued his course along the coast, which now trended to the southward. On the 23d, he reached an opening to the north, into which he steered the ships, in the expectation of finding the desired termination of the American continent. It was, however, soon discovered to be only an inlet or an arm of the sea leading to the mouths of two rapid streams: no name was bestowed on it at the time, but the Earl of Sandwich afterwards directed that it should be called Cook's River. Eleven days were spent in its examination, and the vessels did not clear its entrance before the 6th of June. They now sailed southwestward along the great promontory of Alaska, passing several islands in their course, till the 19th, when some natives came off and delivered a wooden box, containing a note written in Russian characters. Unfortunately these were unintelligible to the voyagers, but they deciphered the dates 1776 and 1778; and the captain was of opinion that it was a paper left by Russian traders to be delivered to any of their countrymen who should next visit these regions. On the 26th, the vessels reached a large island, which was found to be one of the Aleoutian or Fox Archipelago, called Nowan Alsacha or Oonalaska; and two days after they came to an anchor in the small bay of Samgonoodha, on its south-eastern shore.

On the 2d of July, they again made sail, and doubling Cape Oonamak, coasted the northern side of the peninsula till they arrived at a large bay, which received the name of Bristol, while its northern point was called Cape Newenham. On the 3d of August, they had attained the latitude of 62° 34′ N., and on that day died Mr Anderson, the surgeon of the Resolution. "The reader of this journal," says Cook, "will have observed how useful an assistant

Man of Prince William's Sound.

I had found him in the course of the voyage; and had it pleased God to have spared his life, the public, I make no doubt, might have received from him such communications on the natural history of the several places we visited, as would have abundantly shown that he was not unworthy of this commendation. Soon after he had breathed his last, land was seen to the westward; it was supposed to be an island; and to perpetuate the memory of the deceased, for whom I had a very great regard, I named it Anderson's Island."*

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. pp. 439, 440. Burney's Chron. Hist. of North-East. Voyages of Discovery, p. 232-234. From the circumstance that Anderson's Island has not been seen by subsequent visiters, there might have been some grounds for questioning Cook's accuracy; but Beechey has informed us, that he "discovered a note by Captain Bligh, who was the master with Captain Cook, written in pencil on the margin of the Admiralty copy of Cook's Third

Woman of Prince William's Sound.

The discoverers were now at the southern entrance of Behring's Strait, though, from the defective nature of the charts then in use, they were not aware of this important fact. On the 5th, they anchored near a small island off the continent, and Cook, after landing, gave it the name of Sledge, from having found one on the shore, though no inhabitants were seen.* Four days after, in the latitude of

Voyage, by which it is evident that the compilers of the chart have overlooked certain data collected off the eastern end of St Lawrence Island, on the return of the expedition from Norton Sound, and that the land named Anderson's Island was the eastern end of the island of St Lawrence. Had Cook's life been spared, he would no doubt have made the necessary correction in his chart."—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 293.

* The native name has since been ascertained to be *Ayak*; and Captain Beechey remarks the singular coincidence, that this word, in the language of the Esquimaux, signifies *a sledge*.—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 400.

65° 45′ N., and longitude 168° 18′ W., he reached a remarkable promontory, the most westerly point of America yet known, to which he gave the title of Cape Prince of Wales. In the evening, the coast of Asia came in view, when he stood across the strait, and having passed three islands,* anchored on the following morning in a harbour of the Tschuktschi territories, where the natives, though much alarmed, received the voyagers with unexpected politeness, taking off their caps and making low bows. From this port, which he named the Bay of St Lawrence, he stood over to the north-east to prosecute his examination of the American coast. On the 14th, he was in latitude 67° 45′, near a cape which was named Point Mulgrave, and three days after he encountered a field of ice, dense and impenetrable, extending from west by south to east by north, as far as the eye could wander. The following day, he reached the parallel of 70° 44′ N., when his progress was arrested by the ice, which was ten or twelve feet in height, and compact as a wall. The remotest point in sight towards the east, named, from the glaciers which surrounded it, Icy Cape, lay in latitude 70° 29′ N., and longitude 161° 42′ W., and nearly half a century elapsed be-

* When in Behring's Straits, in 1816, the Russian commander, Kotzebue, fancied that he saw *four* islands; and as that which he conceived himself to have discovered considerably exceeded the others in size, he was surprised "that neither Cook nor Clerke should have seen it, as both their courses led them close by it; and," he adds, "it has occurred to me that it may have since risen from the sea."—Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Behring's Straits, in the years 1815-1818 (London, 1821), vol. i. p. 198. But Captain Beechey subsequently found that Kotzebue's supposed discovery has no existence, and that "the islands in the strait are only three in number, and occupying nearly the same situations in which they were placed in the chart of Captain Cook."—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 335-338, and pp. 399, 400.

Interior of a House in Oonalaska.

fore the limits of European discovery were carried beyond this dreary headland.*

The season was now too far advanced to leave any hope that the great object of the voyage could be accomplished before winter. Abandoning, therefore, all attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic, Cook turned his course to the southward, and, on the 2d September, passed the most eastern promontory of Asia, ascertaining the breadth of the strait, where narrowest, to be thirteen leagues. He coasted its western shores till he made the point called Tschukotzkoi Noss, when he again crossed to the American continent; and having explored the large gulf named Norton Sound, anchored on the 3d of October in Samgonoodha Harbour, in the island of Oonalaska.† The natives of this place were the most peaceable and inoffensive people he had met with. Their stature was rather low; their necks short; their faces swarthy and chubby, with black eyes and small beards. Their houses were large oblong pits in the ground, covered with a roof, which was thatched with grass and earth, so that, in external appearance, they resembled dunghills. Towards each end a square opening was left, one of which served as a window, while the other was used as a door, the ascent or descent being facilitated by a post with steps cut in it.

* In 1826, the expedition of Beechey extended our knowledge of the American coast 126 miles north-east of Icy Cape, to a promontory named Point Barrow, in latitude 71° 23′ 31″ N., longitude 71° 23′ 31″ W.—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 425. Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America, p. 289.

† "Here," says Burney, "closed our first season of northern discovery,—a season of unremitting activity. The ability and diligence exercised will best appear by comparing the map of the world, as it stood previous to this voyage, with the map of the world drawn immediately after; and by keeping in mind, that the addition of so large an extent of intricate coast, before unknown, was effected by the labour of a single expedition, in little more than half a-year."—Chron. Hist. of North-East. Discov. p. 251.

A few days after their arrival, the captains were surprised by the present of a salmon-pie, baked in rye-flour, which, with a note in the Russian language, was delivered to them by two natives from a distant part of the island. John Ledyard, afterwards distinguished as a traveller, then a corporal of marines, volunteered his services to proceed with the messengers, and discover by whom the friendly gift had been sent. He returned after two days, along with three Russian traders, whose visit was shortly followed by that of Mr Ismyloff, the principal person in the island, with whom, as far as signs and figures permitted, mutual communication of geographical knowledge and kindly intercourse took place. To this hospitable and excellent individual, Cook intrusted a letter to the Admiralty, enclosing a chart of his discoveries, which was faithfully transmitted. On the 26th, our navigator set sail for the Sandwich Islands, where he now proposed to pass the winter, if he should find sufficient supplies of provisions.

On the 26th of November, nearly in the latitude of 20° 59′ N., he discovered Mowee or Maui, one of the Sandwich group, lying farther west than those visited in his voyage towards the north. The country seemed well wooded and watered, and the inhabitants were evidently of the same nation with the tribes to leeward. On the evening of the 30th, another and a much larger island, Owhyhee or Hawaii, was discovered to windward; and as he drew near its northern shores, the captain saw with surprise that the tops of the mountains were covered with snow to a considerable depth. Nearly seven weeks were passed in sailing round it in search of a harbour; but at length a large bay named Ka-

rakaooa was observed on the western side, and he came to anchor on the morning of the 17th January 1779. "I had nowhere," says he, "in the course of my voyages, seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place;" the ships were covered with the natives; vast multitudes came off in canoes; many hundreds were swimming around "like shoals of fish," and even the shores of the bay were thronged with spectators. One feeling of pleasure seemed to pervade this great crowd, and was expressed in shouts, in songs, and a variety of wild and extravagant motions.

In gazing on the lofty vessels of the English, the people of Owhyhee beheld the fulfilment of an ancient prophecy. At an early period of their history, when the peace and plenty of the golden age prevailed among them, there lived, near Karakaooa, a god named Rono. The beautiful goddess Opuna having proved unfaithful to his bed, he threw her from the summit of a precipice; but soon becoming frantic with remorse, he roamed throughout the islands, boxing and wrestling with every one he could meet. Having deposited the mangled body of his consort in a morai, near the bay, he remained there for a long time in the deepest dejection and sorrow, and at length determined to quit the country where so many objects reminded him of his loss and of his crime. He accordingly set sail for a foreign land in a strangely-shaped canoe, having promised that he would one day come back on a floating island, furnished with all that man could desire.*

After his departure, he was worshipped as a god,

* The American missionaries have preserved one of the songs in which this tradition is embodied, entitled, O RONO AKUA.

1. Rono, Etooah [or Akua, *that is*, God] of Hawaii, in ancient times resided with his wife at Karakaooa.

and annual games were established in his honour. The fulfilment of his assurance to return was eagerly looked for; and when the vessels under Cook arrived, it was believed that the prediction had come to pass; the ships were regarded as *motus* or islands, and their commander was hailed as the long-absent Rono, who had at length re-appeared to restore the reign of content and happiness.* It is to be regretted that this belief was not known to the English; and in perusing the following details of the divine honours and worship with which Cook was received, the reader must, in justice to our great countryman, bear in mind that he was ignorant of their true intent.

Shortly after the Resolution was moored, two chiefs brought on board a priest named Koah, who, approaching the captain with much veneration, threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, and having retired a few paces, made an offering of a small pig, while he

2. The name of the goddess, his love, was Kaikiranee-Aree-Opuna. They dwelt beneath the steep rock.

3. A man ascended to the summit, and, from the height, thus addressed the spouse of Rono:—

4. "O Kaikiranee-Aree-Opuna, your lover salutes you. Keep this—remove that: one will still remain."

5. Rono, overhearing this artful speech, killed his wife with a hasty stroke.

6. Sorry for this rash deed, he carried to a morai the lifeless body of his wife, and made great wail over it.

7. He travelled through Hawaii in a state of phrensy, boxing with every man he met.

8. The people, astonished, said, "Is Rono entirely mad?" He replied, "I am frantic on her account, I am frantic with my great love."

9. Having instituted games to commemorate her death, he embarked in a triangular boat [*piama lau*] and sailed to a foreign land.

10. Ere he departed he prophesied, "I will return in after times, on an island bearing cocoa-nut-trees, and swine, and dogs."—Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands (London, 1826), p. 20.

* Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 134. Kotzebue's Voyage round the World in 1823-1826. (London, 1830), vol. i. p. 161-166, and p. 179-184. Voyage of the Blonde, p. 24-28. Freycinet, Voyage autour du Monde, tome ii. p. 596.

pronounced a long oration. This ceremony performed, the holy sage sat down to table, eating freely of the viands before him; and, in the evening, the commander, with Messrs King and Bayly, accompanied him on shore. On landing, they were met by four men, bearing wands tipped with dog's hair, who advanced before them shouting a few words, among which Rono, or Orono, was very distinguishable. Of the immense crowd previously collected the whole had now retired, except a few who lay prostrate on the ground beside the adjoining village. Near the beach there stood a morai, consisting of a pile of stones, fourteen yards in height, twenty in breadth, and forty in length; the summit of this erection was well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed several skulls. In the centre was an old wooden building; at one side, five poles, more than twenty feet high, supported an irregular scaffold; and on the other were two small houses, between which there was a covered communication. The voyagers were conducted to this spot by an easy ascent, and at the entrance, where they saw two large idols with distorted features, they were met by Kaireekeea, a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Cook to the statues, and having chanted a hymn, in which Koah joined, led him to that part of the morai where the poles were erected. Under these stood twelve images ranged in a semicircle, and before the idol in the centre was a high table, containing a putrid hog, pieces of sugar-cane, cocoanuts, and other fruit. The priest, placing the captain under this stand, took down the carcass, and held it towards him; then, addressing him in a long speech delivered with great fervour and rapidity, he dropped

the animal, and led him to the scaffold, which both ascended, not without great hazard. At this time appeared in solemn procession ten men, who bore a live hog and a large piece of red cloth, and, advancing a few paces, prostrated themselves and delivered the latter to Kaireekeea. He carried it to Koah, who, having wrapped it round the *Englishman*, offered him the pig, which was brought with like ceremony. These two personages now began to chant, sometimes together and sometimes alternately, while the navigator remained on the scaffold, swathed in red. When the song was over, the priest threw down the hog, and having descended with Cook, led him before the images, each of which he addressed, seemingly in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers as he passed, till, coming in front of that in the centre, supposed to be of higher estimation than the others, he threw himself prostrate and kissed it. The commander was desired to do the same, and, we are told, "suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony." The party was next conducted to another division of the morai, sunk about three feet below the level of the area, where he was seated between two idols, the sacred functionary supporting one of his arms, and Captain King the other. When in this position a second procession drew near, bearing a baked pig, with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, the first of which Kaireekeea presented to him, and again began to chant; while his companions made regular responses, in which they frequently used the word Orono. On the conclusion of this ritual, which occupied the fourth part of an hour, the natives, sitting down in front of the strangers, began to cut up the hog, peel the vegetables, and prepare *ava*, by the

same process as that practised in Tonga and elsewhere. Part of a cocoa-nut was taken by Kaireekeea, and having been chewed by him and wrapped in cloth, was rubbed on the navigator's face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. Then the ava was handed round; after which the priest and another chief began to feed their visiters by putting pieces of the flesh into their mouths. "I had no great objection," says Captain King, "to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person; but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished, when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him."* This was the last part of the ceremony, and the English, after distributing iron and other articles, quitted the morai, and were conducted to the boats by men bearing wands as before,—the people again retiring, and the few who remained falling down before them as they walked along the beach.

Several days passed without any event of interest; the observatory was erected, supplies of provisions were procured, and the necessary repairs executed on the ships. Whenever the commander landed, a sacred herald marched before him, proclaiming the approach of Orono, and desiring the people to prostrate themselves. Offerings were made to him; and, in a temple called *Harre-no-Orono,* he was subjected to a repetition of the various rites with which he was worshipped on his first landing. The priests daily supplied both the ships and the party which was stationed on shore with hogs and vegetables beyond what was really needed, and not only without an expectation of return, but in a manner which be-

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 8.

tokened the discharge of a religious duty. When asked at whose instance these presents were made, the answer was, at that of Kaoo, their chief, and grandfather to Kaireekeea. This dignitary was then absent, attending on Terreeoboo, the sovereign of Owhyhee and its dependencies.

On the morning of the 24th, the navigators found that the whole bay had been *tabooed*, which had the effect of cutting off all communication between them and the natives. This ceremony was occasioned by the arrival of the king, who privately inspected the ships, preparatory to a public visit on the 26th, which was attended with great state. In one canoe was the monarch with his chiefs, dressed in red-feather-cloaks and helmets, and armed with daggers and long spears; a second was filled with hogs and vegetables, and a third was occupied by Kaoo, his priests, and their idols,—gigantic images made of wicker-work and covered with small feathers of various hues. The canoes having paddled round the ships amid the solemn chanting of the priesthood, made toward the shore, whither Cook soon followed. When he came into the royal presence, the king rose up, and gracefully threw his own mantle over the captain's shoulders, put a feathered helmet on his head, and a curious fan into his hand; and lastly, spread five or six cloaks, all of great beauty and value, at his feet. The attendants then brought four large hogs, with sugar-canes and other vegetables; and this part of the pageant closed with an exchange of names, the strongest pledge of friendship. Shortly after appeared a sacerdotal procession, and a lengthened train of men bearing hogs and fruits, led by Kaoo, who, having wrapped some red cloth round the person of the commander, gave him a small pig, and took his seat next the king.

Kaireekeea and his followers then began chanting, while all the other grandees joined in the responses. When these formalities were over, the commander invited the monarch and several nobles on board his vessel, where they were received with every mark of respect. Kaoo and some old chiefs still remained on shore; while throughout the whole bay not a canoe was to be seen, and the people either kept within their dwellings or lay prostrate on the ground,—the taboo still continuing in full force.

The submissive demeanour of the natives had removed every apprehension of danger, and the officers freely mingled with them on all occasions. Wherever they went, refreshments, games, and recreations, were presented, and even the boys and girls formed themselves into groups, and endeavoured to please their visiters by exhibiting their skill in dancing. The sole interruption to this amicable intercourse arose from the thieving dispositions of the islanders, which sometimes compelled the English to have recourse to acts of severity.

Towards the end of January, the sovereign and his chiefs began to manifest an impatience for the departure of their guests. They imagined, it seems, that the strangers had come from a country where food was scarce, and that their principal object was to obtain a supply of provisions.—"Indeed," says Captain King, "the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase and carry off as much as we were able, led them, naturally enough, to such a conclusion. To these may be added a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us; together with our quiet conduct and unwar-

like appearance. It was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides, and patting the bellies of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks during our short stay in the island), and telling them, partly by signs and partly by words, that it was time for them to go; but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants."* The navigators had now been sixteen days in the bay; and, considering the great consumption of hogs and vegetables, the desire expressed for their absence can excite little surprise; but, so far was the monarch from entertaining any hostile feeling towards them, when he made inquiry as to the day of sailing, that it is manifest he was actuated only by a wish to prepare suitable gifts for the occasion. He was told that the voyagers would leave the island in two days, and a proclamation was immediately made throughout the villages, commanding the inhabitants to bring hogs and vegetables to be offered to Orono on his departure. At the time fixed, Terreeoboo invited the two commanders to visit him; and, on arriving at his residence, they saw the ground covered with parcels of cloth, a vast quantity of red and yellow feathers, and a great number of hatchets and other instruments of iron, procured in barter with the ships; while at a little distance they observed a large herd of hogs, with an immense quantity of vegetables of every kind. The king, having set apart about a third of the iron-ware, feathers, and a few pieces of cloth, ordered the remainder of the robes, with all the hogs and vegetables, to be presented to the English, who were astonished at the value and magnitude of the

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 26.

donation, " which far exceeded every thing of the kind they had seen, either at the Friendly or Society Islands." Captain King was among the last to quit the island, and the natives crowded round him, lamenting his approaching departure. They urged him to remain among them, and even made offers of the most flattering kind; and when he informed them that Captain Cook, whose son they supposed him to be, would not quit the bay without him, Terreeoboo and Kaoo waited on the commander, and requested that his colleague might be left behind. Unwilling to give a direct refusal, he parted from them with a promise, that he would revisit the island the succeeding year, and endeavour to gratify their wishes.

He sailed from Karakaooa Bay on the 4th of February, with the intention of completing his survey of the archipelago. On the 8th, he was still in sight of Owhyhee, when it was perceived that the foremast of the Resolution had given way during a gale which sprang up at midnight. Before this injury could be repaired, it was necessary to take out the mast,—an operation which could only be performed in some secure anchorage; and no other harbour having been discovered, it was determined to return to that which had been so lately quitted; and on the 11th, the vessels came to moorings nearly in the same place as before. That, and part of the following day, were employed in sending workmen and materials on shore, together with the astronomical apparatus, under guard of a corporal and six marines; and the friendly priests *tabooed* the position against annoyance from the inhabitants.

The voyagers were struck with the altered appearance of the bay, which was now silent and de-

serted, except by one or two canoes. Some individuals, indeed, came off with provisions, but they were few in number, and the vast multitude which had been assembled on the former visit seemed to have dispersed on the departure of the ships.

On the evening of the 13th, several chiefs interfered to prevent the natives from assisting the sailors in rolling the water-casks; and shortly afterwards, the islanders armed themselves with stones, and became insolent and tumultuous. Alarmed by these indications, Captain King went to the spot; and on his remonstrating with the leaders, they dispersed the mob, and allowed the casks to be filled in quietness. He then went to meet Cook, who was rowing towards the land in the pinnace, and having communicated to him what had just passed, was directed, in the event of any attack on the part of the people, to fire on them with ball. In a short time after, they were alarmed by a continued discharge of muskets from the Discovery, against a canoe which was seen paddling hastily towards the shore, pursued by a small boat. The commander, concluding that a theft had been committed, ordered King to follow him with an armed marine, in order to seize the delinquents as they landed. These, however, escaped into the country, and Cook, having pursued them about three miles without success, returned to the beach, ignorant that the stolen articles had been recovered. Meanwhile, the officer in the small boat, not content with this success, seized the canoe of the offender, when Pareea, one of the principal nobles, claimed the skiff as his property. A violent affray ensued, in which the chief was knocked down by a blow from an oar. This was no sooner observed by his followers than they attacked the English with a shower of

stones, and forcing them to retreat, began to ransack a pinnace belonging to the Resolution, which would have been forthwith demolished, had not Pareea driven away the crowd. He made signs to the voyagers to return and take possession of their boat, which they did, while he promised to use his endeavours to get back the rest of their property. As they were proceeding to the ships, he followed them, and restored the cap of Mr Vancouver, one of the midshipmen, and some other trifling articles. He appeared much concerned at what had happened, and inquired "if Orono would kill him, and whether he would permit him to come on board the next day?" Being assured that he should suffer no harm, he joined noses with the officers, the usual token of friendship, and paddled off towards the village of Kowrowa.

On learning these events, which had occurred during his pursuit of the fugitives, Cook appeared deeply mortified at their unfortunate result, and said to Captain King, "I am afraid that these people will oblige me to use some violent measures; for they must not be left to imagine that they have gained an advantage over us." It was too late to take any steps that evening; and this officer, having executed the orders he received to remove all the natives from the vessels, returned to the shore. Feeling less confidence in the barbarians, he also posted a double guard on the morai where his party was lodged. About eleven o'clock, five men were observed creeping round the building, who, on finding themselves discovered, retired out of sight; and, about an hour afterwards, one of them, having ventured up close to the observatory, a musket was fired over him by the sentinel, which put the whole to flight. No other interruption was offered, but "those who were on

duty," says Mr Samwell, "were disturbed during the night with shrill and melancholy sounds, issuing from the adjacent villages, which they took to be the lamentations of the women. Perhaps, the quarrel between us might have filled their minds with apprehensions for the safety of their husbands; but, be that as it may, their mournful cries struck the sentinels with unusual awe."*

With daylight of the next morning, Sunday the 14th, it was discovered that the six-oared cutter of the Discovery had been stolen. It was moored to a buoy close by the ship, in such a manner that its gunwale was level with the surface of the sea, and though under the eye of the watch, it had been cut from its fastenings and carried off without observation.

On being informed of this theft, Cook desired his colleague to go on shore and endeavour to persuade the king, Terreeoboo, to exert his authority for the recovery of the boat. Unfortunately, Captain Clerke was so weak as to be unable to undertake the expedition, and the great navigator determined to go in

* Narrative of the Death of Captain James Cook, &c., by David Samwell, Surgeon of the Discovery (Lond. 1786), p. 8. It may be proper here to indicate the sources from which the account given in the present work of the unfortunate transactions which took place during this and the following day has been drawn. They are, *1st*, The relation of Captain King in the Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 35-52. *2d*, The Narrative of Mr Samwell, quoted above. *3d*, That of the late Admiral Burney, in his Chron. Hist. of North-East. Voy. of Discov. p. 255-266. [These writers were eyewitnesses of the whole or part of the events which they describe.] *4th*, The anecdotes collected from a resident in and natives of the Sandwich Islands, by Mr Mariner, in his Account of the Tonga Archipelago, vol. i. p. 72-74. *5th*, The account gathered from the natives by Mr Ellis, Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 130-138. *6th*, The narrative of Kotzebue, New Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 179-186. As might be expected, these authorities exhibit various discrepancies, which it has been our endeavour to reconcile as far as possible. The account given by Kotzebue has been used with considerable caution, as its accuracy has been impeached. See Mr Ellis' Vindication of the South Sea Missions (Lond. 1831), p. 13.

person. At this time King came on board the Resolution, where he found the marines getting ready their arms, and the commander loading his double-barrelled gun. While relating the events which had occurred at the morai during the night, he was interrupted by the other "with some eagerness," and made acquainted with the loss of the cutter, and the plan which he had formed for its recovery. This was, as on similar occasions,* to get possession of the sovereign, or some of the principal chiefs, and detain them till the stolen property was restored. In the event of this method failing, he resolved to make reprisals on the vessels in the harbour, and with this view ordered three boats to stations near the outer points of the bay, with directions to give no molestation to the small skiffs, but to prevent the departure of any large canoe.

A little before eight o'clock, Cook left the Resolution and rowed towards the village of Kowrowa, where the king resided. He landed along with Lieutenant Philips, a sergeant, two corporals, and six private marines, and as he proceeded towards the hamlet, he was received with all accustomed respect, the people prostrating themselves at his approach, and presenting him with small hogs. On inquiring for Terreeoboo and his sons, the latter, two youths who had been his constant guests on board ship, came to him in a short time, and instantly conducted him towards the house where their father was. On his way, he was joined by several chiefs, some of whom more than once asked if he wanted any hogs or other provisions; to which he replied, that he did not, and that his business was to see the king. On reaching the royal residence, he ordered some of the natives to inform the monarch of his de-

* See above, pp. 315, 414, 428.

sire to speak with him; but these, returning without an answer, only presented pieces of red cloth; when he, suspecting from this circumstance that his majesty was not there, directed Lieutenant Philips to enter. This gentleman found the prince newly wakened from sleep, who, though apparently alarmed at the message, at once came out. The captain took him by the hand, and invited him to spend the day on board the Resolution, to which he at once consented, and the party proceeded towards the boats,—Terreeoboo leaning on the shoulder of the lieutenant, while his youngest son, Kaoowa, had reached the shore and taken his seat in the pinnace. Cook was perfectly satisfied from what he had learned that the cutter had been stolen without the knowledge of the king.

It was while these things were passing, that the boats placed near the south point of the harbour, observing a large canoe endeavouring to leave the bay, fired several muskets over the heads of her crew, with the view of preventing their escape. One of the balls unfortunately killed a chief who happened to be on the shore; and two islanders immediately proceeded to the ships to complain to the commander, and finding that he was at Kowrowa, followed him thither.

Terreeoboo, accompanied by his English friend, had already advanced almost to the water's edge, when his people, conscious of transgression, began to put on their war-mats, and to equip themselves with spears, clubs, and daggers. One of his favourite wives came after him, and throwing her arms about his neck, with many tears and entreaties besought him to go no farther; and with the help of two chiefs, she even forced him to sit down by the side of a canoe, telling him he would be put to death if he went into the ship. No ardour of expostulations

could overcome their fears; and the natives, in the mean while, collecting in great force along the shore, began to throng around their sovereign. While they did so, an old priest advanced towards the captain holding out a cocoa-nut as a present, and, in spite of all entreaty or remonstrance, singing aloud, with the purpose, it was thought, of diverting attention from his countrymen, who were every moment growing more tumultuous. Perceiving the dangerous position in which the voyagers were now placed, and that his men were too much crowded together to use their arms with effect, the marine officer proposed to withdraw his party to some rocks close to the water-side, at the distance of about thirty yards,—a measure which was promptly adopted, the crowd making way without reluctance. Previously to this, it is related by Mr Samwell that Koah was observed lurking near with an iron dagger partly concealed under his cloak, with the intention apparently of stabbing Captain Cook or Lieutenant Philips. The latter proposed to fire at him, but was forbidden by his commander; the savage, however, still pressing nearer, the officer struck him with his piece, on which he retired; another islander seized on the musket of the sergeant, and attempted to wrench it from his grasp, but a blow from the lieutenant forced him to abandon his hold. Terreeoboo remained seated, in a state of alarm and dejection, while our navigator urged him in the most pressing manner to proceed, and such was the irresolution of the monarch, that his persuasions might have prevailed, if the chiefs had not interposed, first with earnest entreaties, afterwards with threats of violence. The captain held the timid prince by the hand; but seeing the general alarm of the natives,

he let go his grasp, observing to Lieutenant Philips, that it would be impossible to force him on board without much bloodshed, and that other means must be employed to recover the boat. The perplexed ruler was immediately taken away, and was no more seen; while Cook, in company with the lieutenant, slowly turned his steps towards the beach.

At this moment, a native from the opposite shore of the bay rushed into the crowd, almost breathless, exclaiming, "It is war! The foreigners have commenced hostilities,—have fired on a canoe from one of their boats, and killed a chief!"* This announcement occasioned a violent ferment; the women and children immediately disappeared; while such of the men as had not already armed themselves, hastened to put on their war-mats and seize their spears. One of them advanced towards Cook, flourishing a long iron spike or *pahooa*, by way of defiance, and threatening to throw a stone which he held in his hand. Although called on to keep back, he continued to draw nearer, when our navigator considered it necessary to fire on him with small shot. The savage received the full discharge on his thick mat, which he held up in derision, crying out "*Mattee-manoo!*"—The gun is only fit to kill birds,—and poised his spear as if to hurl it at his antagonist, who, unwilling to take away his life, knocked him down with the butt-end of his musket. The only object now contemplated by the discoverer was the safety of his party; but the remonstrances which he addressed to the islanders on their turbulence were answered by a volley of stones, which brought down one of the marines. A native was observed in the act of darting a spear at him, when, in self-defence, he dis-

* Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 131.

charged his piece, but, missing his aim, killed another near the assailant, who was equally engaged in the tumult. This was instantly followed by a general attack with stones, which was answered by musketry from the marines, succeeded by that of the people in the boats. The captain, expressing his astonishment at the conduct of the latter, waved his hand towards them, and called on them to cease firing and pull close in to receive the marines. The pinnace accordingly approached as near as it could without touching the ground; but the launch, apparently from misunderstanding the signal, was unfortunately drawn farther off. There was on that morning a considerable swell in the bay, and the surf on the shore was greater than usual, so that the boats were obliged to lie off on their oars; and from the noise of the waves on the rocks and the uproar of the multitude, it was impossible for them to hear their commander's orders with distinctness.

The natives, contrary to expectation, had stood the fire with great firmness, and though they fell back at first, they advanced before the marines had time to reload, and broke in upon them with frightful yells. 'After this all was horror and confusion. The soldiers were borne down and forced into the water, where four of them were slain and three dangerously hurt. Among the latter was the lieutenant, who, after he had gained the pinnace, perceiving one of his men left on the shore, gallantly leapt overboard, and, swimming to the rocks, succeeded in bringing him off in safety.* Cook, who had lingered

* Burney compares this with a similar exploit performed during the cruise of the Nassau Fleet off the coast of New Spain in November 1624. A boat's crew, who had landed to procure water, fell into an ambuscade laid by the Spaniards, in which four of them lost their lives, while the rest were forced to embark in great con-

behind, was now observed walking towards the boats; he held his musket in one hand, and the other was placed against the back of his head, to protect it from the stones showered by the natives. A man followed him, but cautiously and timidly, stopping once or twice, irresolute whether to strike or not; and it was remarked that, when the captain's face was towards the barbarians, none of them offered any violence. On reaching the water's edge, he turned about to give orders to the boats, when his pursuer, advancing unawares, struck him on the back of the head with a club or stave, and immediately retreated.* Stunned by the blow, he tottered forward a few paces, and then fell on his hand and knee, letting his musket drop, while a great shout burst from the islanders. As he was rising, and before he could regain his footing, another savage stabbed him in the back of the neck with an iron spike, on which he again fell into a pool among the shelves, scarcely more than knee-deep. Unable to swim, and dizzy from the wounds he had received, he turned towards the rocks, and was immediately surrounded by the natives, who crowded about him and endea-

fusion. "In the haste made, one man was left behind on the beach; but his captain, Cornelys de Witte, who had gone himself on this service, returned to the shore in the face of the enemy, and took him into his boat,—'an act of generosity,' as is justly observed by the French translator, 'worth a wound which he received in his side, and of which he was afterwards cured.'"—Burney, Chron. Hist. Discov. vol. iii. pp. 31, 32, Note. Hist. of North-Eastern Discov. p. 265.

* Mr Mariner was informed that this individual was a native carpenter, and that he struck Cook, "either in the apprehension that he was at that moment ordering his men to increase their fire, or not knowing him to be the extraordinary being (Rono) of whom he had heard so much; for he lived a considerable distance up the country, and was not personally acquainted with him. The natives had no idea that Cook could possibly be killed, as they considered him a supernatural being, and were astonished when they saw him fall."—Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 74. Samwell's Narrative, p. 16.

voured to keep him under the water. He struggled violently against them, and succeeded in raising his head, when he turned his eyes towards the pinnace, as if beseeching that aid which, in the confusion of the scene, it was impossible to afford. Though again forced under water deeper than before, he was once more able to lift his head above it, and, almost exhausted, had laid hold of a rock for support, when a savage struck him with a club and he was seen alive no more. They then dragged his body from the water, and were observed to snatch the daggers from each other's hands in order to pierce the corpse; nor did they desist for some time, though a fire was directed against them from the boats, and several were seen to fall by the side of their victim.* When they at last gave way, a small skiff, manned by five young midshipmen, pulled to the shore, where they saw the bodies of their companions lying on the ground without any signs of life; but considering it dangerous to land with so small a force, they returned to the vessels, where the tidings of this great calamity spread universal sorrow and dismay.

Animated by their success, the natives began to

* The anxiety manifested by the islanders to mangle the body of our great countryman was, at the time, commonly attributed to "a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction." But it has been remarked by Dr Martin, that, "in all probability, this eagerness to seize the dagger was prompted in each by the wish to be possessed of an instrument which had become consecrated, as it were, by the death of so great a man; at least, this is presumed from what would have been the sentiment had it happened at the Tonga Islands."—Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. pp. 74, 75. That the seeming barbarity exhibited on this occasion arose from some superstitious notion, such as that mentioned by Dr Martin, is a supposition which derives confirmation from the belief which the islanders entertained with regard to Cook, from the honours afterwards rendered to his remains, and from the expressions used by the natives to Mr Ellis,—"After he was dead, we all wailed!"—Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 132.

gather round the morai in another part of the harbour, where Captain King with some men had been left in charge of the astronomical instruments, the foremast of the Resolution, and the greater portion of the sails of both vessels; but after a brief conflict, a truce was agreed to, and the voyagers were permitted to withdraw, carrying their effects with them, without molestation. The savages, however, seemed to be still bent on hostilities; an immense concourse was drawn up on the shore, and several went off in their canoes till within pistol-shot of the ships, challenging the people on board with marks of defiance and contempt. In the afternoon, King rowed towards the land, where he had an interview with some of the chiefs; and, in answer to his inquiries after the body of his late commander, was assured that it had been carried up the country, but would be restored the next morning. This promise was not fulfilled; but after nightfall of the 15th, a person who had constantly attended Cook when on shore, came off to the ship and presented to Captain King a small bundle wrapped up in cloth, containing a piece of flesh about ten pounds in weight. This, he said, was all that remained of the body of the unfortunate navigator;—that the rest had been cut off and burned; and that the head and all the bones, except those of the trunk, were in the possession of the king and the chiefs. Before departing, he asked with great anxiety, "When Orono would come again?" and "What he would do to them on his return?"—questions which were frequently repeated by others. The impression of the islanders that the murdered leader was their ancient deity was not even yet wholly dissipated; and although some, when they

saw his blood streaming and heard his groans, exclaimed, "This is not Rono!" others still believed in his divinity, and cherished the hope that he would once more appear among them.

On the 17th, a party, who landed to procure water, experienced so much annoyance from the inhabitants, that it was necessary to burn down a few straggling huts which afforded them shelter. Those to whom this order was intrusted carried it far beyond the proper limits: the whole village was set on fire and consumed, along with the houses of the priests, at whose hands nothing but friendship had been experienced. This act, followed by the death of several of the savages, who were shot in attempting to escape from the flames, conveyed a suitable terror of the English power; and, on the evening of the 18th, a chief came with presents from Terreeoboo to sue for peace.

On the morning of the 20th, the mast of the Resolution was replaced, and the same day the remains of its lamented commander were delivered up to his successor, wrapped in a large quantity of fine cloth, and covered with a cloak of black and white feathers. "We found in this bundle," says Captain King, "both the hands of Captain Cook entire, which were well known from a remarkable scar on one of them, that divided the thumb from the fore-finger, the whole length of the metacarpal bone; the skull, but with the scalp separated from it, and the bones that form the face wanting; the scalp, with the hair upon it cut short, and the ears adhering to it; the bones of both arms, with the skin of the fore-arms hanging to them, the thigh and leg bones joined together, but without the feet. The ligaments of the joints were entire; and the whole bore evident marks of having been in the

fire, except the hands, which had the flesh left upon them, and were cut in several places and crammed with salt, apparently with an intention of preserving them. The scalp had a cut on the back part of it, but the skull was free from any fracture."* The lower jawbone and the feet were restored on the morning of the 21st; and in the afternoon, these remains having been enclosed in a coffin, the burial-service was read over them, and, with the usual military honours, they were committed to the deep. "What our feelings were on this occasion," says Captain King, "I leave the world to conceive; those who were present know that it is not in my power to express them." Part of the bones, it may be observed, were retained by the natives; and several of them, held sacred as those of the god Rono, were deposited in a temple dedicated to that deity. They were preserved in a basket of wicker-work, covered with red feathers; religious homage was paid to them, and they were annually borne in procession through the island by the votaries of Rono, when gathering offerings for the maintenance of their worship. They were thus preserved and honoured for a period of forty years, until the abolition of idolatry, and the establishment of the Christian faith in 1819. At that date they disappeared, having probably been carried off by some of the priests, and the English missionaries have hitherto failed to discover their destination.†

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 80.

† "All those," says Mr Ellis, "of whom inquiry has been made, have uniformly asserted, that they were formerly kept by the priests of Rono, and worshipped, but have never given any satisfactory information as to where they are now. Whenever we have asked the king, or Hevaheva the chief priest, or any of the chiefs, they have either told us they were under the care of those who had themselves said they knew nothing about them, or that they were now

By the next day all was ready for sea, and on the 22d of February, our navigators stood out of the bay; while the islanders, collected in great numbers on the shore, received their last farewell with every mark of affection and good-will.

After visiting other islands of the Sandwich group, about the middle of March they proceeded once more to the northward, and came to anchor in Awatska Bay in Kamtschatka near the end of April. They were most hospitably treated by the commander of that remote province, the celebrated Major Behm, who refused any remuneration for the liberal supplies with which he furnished them. They did not quit this friendly harbour till the 16th of June, "at least a month later," says Burney, "than should have been desired, as, in a pursuit like ours, it was our business to have been early in the year to the north." They reached Behring's Strait on the 5th July, and on the 19th, attained the latitude of 70° 33′. Beyond this point, which was five leagues short of that which had been attained the previous season, they were not able to penetrate, nor did they succeed in advancing so far along the coast of either continent. On the 27th, all farther attempts were abandoned, and the course bent to the southward. "I will not," says Captain King, "endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual, as soon as

lost."—Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 137. Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 73. The last-quoted author was informed "that the natives of Owhyhee returned very few of the bones of Captain Cook, but chiefly substituted the bones of some other Englishman that was killed on that melancholy occasion." But this statement seems to require corroboration.—"Not only," says Mr Ellis, "were the bones of Cook worshipped, but almost every relic left with them; among other things, a *sledge* from the north-west coast of America, which they called *Opaitauarii*, a crab or shrimp for a chief to rest on."—Vol. iv. p. 133.

this resolution was made known. We were all heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmost perseverance had not been repaid with the smallest probability of success. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an absence of three years, with a delight and satisfaction which, notwithstanding the tedious voyage we had still to make, and the immense distance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in sight of the Land's End."* Three days after, they repassed the strait, and on the 21st of August, came in sight of the mountains of Kamtschatka. Captain Clerke had been long and seriously indisposed, and all hopes of his recovery had been for some time relinquished by every one but himself. He died on the 22d, in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and was interred on the north side of the harbour of St Peter and St Paul, where the vessels arrived two days after his demise. His body was attended to the grave by the officers and crews of the ships, and by the Russian garrison; the service was read by the priest of the settlement, amid the firing of minute-guns; and the melancholy ceremony was concluded by the discharge of three volleys from the marines. An escutcheon was placed in the neighbouring church, setting forth his age and rank, and an inscription of the same purport was affixed to the tree under which he was buried.†

Captain Gore now assumed the command of the expedition on board the Resolution, while Captain

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 260.

† In 1787, the unfortunate La Perouse placed a brass plate on the tomb of Captain Clerke; and more lately the Russian admiral, Krusenstern, erected a monument to his memory; which, before Captain Beechey's visit in 1827, had, for better preservation, been removed to the governor's garden.—Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 245.

King removed to the Discovery. The instructions from the Admiralty directed that, if the vessels failed to find a passage into the Atlantic, they should return to England by such course as seemed most likely to advance geographical knowledge. On this point Captain Gore requested the opinions of his officers, who unanimously thought that the largest field for discovery, the sea between Japan and Asia, could not be safely explored in the present condition of the vessels, and that it was therefore advisable to keep to the eastward, along the Kuriles, and examine the islands lying nearest the northern coast of Japan; then to survey the shores of that country; and, lastly, to make the coast of China at as northerly a point as possible, and run along it to Macao. Of this judicious plan only a small part could be carried into effect. The attempt to reach the islands north of Japan proved fruitless; and the ships, driven from those latitudes by contrary winds, anchored at Macao early in December.

The discoverers here received information of the public events which had occurred in Europe since the commencement of their voyage; and, in consequence of the war which had arisen between Great Britain and France, they prepared their vessels for meeting the enemy. Fortunately their precautions were rendered unnecessary by the generous conduct of their adversaries. In March 1779, the Court of Versailles issued orders to the captains of their ships, stating the objects of the expedition, and the advantages which would result from it to all nations, and directing that Cook should be treated as the commander of a neutral or allied power. This measure, so honourable to the French character,

was, we are informed by the Marquis de Condorcet, adopted on the advice of the enlightened Turgot. Benjamin Franklin, then in Paris as the plenipotentiary of the United States, addressed to the officers of the American navy an earnest recommendation to spare the ships of "that most celebrated discoverer Captain Cook;" but the noble feelings which dictated this letter found no response in Congress, who instantly issued orders that especial care should be taken to seize our voyagers. The same mean policy was pursued by the government of Spain.

While lying at Macao, the sailors engaged in an active trade with the Chinese for the furs of the sea-otter, which they had procured, without any view to sale, at Cook's River on the North American coast. "One of our seamen," says King, "sold his stock for 800 dollars; and a few prime skins, which were clean and had been well preserved, were sold for 120 each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs in both ships, I am confident, did not fall short of L.2000 sterling; and it was generally supposed, that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away and otherwise disposed of in Kamtschatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered that the furs were at first collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the savages, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterwards preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed-clothes and other purposes, during our cruise to the north; and that probably we had never got the full value for them in China; the advantages that might be derived from

a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appear to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public."* The seamen were astonished at the high prices which they received for an article they had so easily procured; and their eagerness to return to Cook's Inlet, and by another cargo make their fortunes, led them to the brink of mutiny. The profits of the barter produced a whimsical alteration in the appearance of the crews, who, on their entry into the river, were clad in a motley mixture of rags, skins, and the rude cloth of the savage countries they had visited—garments which they soon exchanged for the gaudiest silks and cottons of China.

The ships took their departure from Macao on the 13th January 1780, and touched at the Cape of Good Hope on the 13th of April. They made the western coast of Ireland on the 12th August, anchored on the 22d at Stromness in Orkney, and arrived at the Nore on the 4th of October, after an absence of four years, two months, and twenty-two days. During this long period the Resolution lost only five men by sickness, while no death had taken place in the Discovery.† Another circumstance,

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 435.

† The bark which bore Magellan in his eventful voyage became a favourite theme with the poets and romancers of Spain; and the ship in which Drake sailed round the globe received equal honours.* The destiny of the vessel of a greater circumnavigator than either may be seen from the following notice:—"Cook's old ship, the Discovery, was, some time since, removed from Woolwich, and is now moored off Deptford as *a receiving ship for convicts.*"—London Newspapers, August 20, 1834.

* One of the uses to which "the ship of famous Draco" was applied, is pointed out in the old play of "Eastward Hoe," (by Chapman, Ben Jonson, and Marston), where Sir Petronel Flash is introduced, saying, "We'll have our provided supper brought aboard Sir Francis Drake's ship, that hath compassed the world, where, with full cups and banquets, we will do sacrifice for a prosperous voyage. My mind gives me that some good spirit of the waters should haunt the desart ribs of her, and be auspicious to all that honour her memory, and will with like orgies enter their voyages."—Act iii.

attended this voyage, which, if we consider its duration, and the nature of the service on which they were engaged, will appear scarcely less singular, namely, that the two ships never lost sight of each other for a whole day together except twice.

CHAPTER XII.

Observations on the Character of Cook.

Honours paid to him—Personal Appearance—Temper and Habits—His Children and Widow—Energy and Perseverace—Self-education—His vast contributions to Geography—Skill in delineating and fixing his Discoveries—Discovery of the Means of preserving the Health of Seamen—Advantages derived from his Voyages—Progress of Civilisation in Polynesia—Conclusion.

THE tidings of the melancholy fate of Cook excited a deep and general sorrow throughout Europe, and distinguished honours were rendered to his name alike by foreigners and by his countrymen. The Royal Society caused a medal to be struck, containing on one side the head of their late associate, with the inscription JAC. COOK, OCEANI INVESTIGATOR ACERRIMUS; on the other, the figure of Britannia holding a globe, with the words NIL INTENTATUM NOSTRI LIQUERE; and on the exergue, REG. SOC. LOND. SOCIO SUO, and AUSPICIIS GEORGII III. His majesty conferred on the widow of Cook a pension of two hundred pounds a-year, and on each of his sons an annual sum of twenty-five pounds. Honourable armorial bearings, symbolical of his achievements, were assigned to his family.

Sir Hugh Palliser, on his estate in Buckinghamshire, erected a monument to the memory of his old and dear friend; in 1812, the parishioners of Marton placed a marble tablet to his memory in the church

where he was baptized; a handsome obelisk, fifty-one feet in height, was built on the hill of Easby, near Rosberry Topping, in 1827; and the officers of the Blonde raised on the place where the body of the distinguished voyager was burned a cross of oak, ten feet in height, with this inscription,—

Sacred
to the memory of
Capt. James Cook, R. N.
who discovered these Islands
in the year of our Lord 1778.
This humble monument is erected
by his countrymen
in the year of our Lord 1825.

Few visiters leave Owhyhee without making a pilgrimage to the spot where its discoverer met his untimely end, and many carry away pieces of the dark lava-rock on which he stood when he received his death-wound. The place is marked by the ruins of a morai, and by some stunted cocoa-trees, in which the natives show perforations, produced by the balls fired on the fatal morning of the 14th February 1779.

In person, Cook was of a robust frame, and upwards of six feet in height. His head was small, and his face animated and expressive, though his prominent eyebrows imparted to it an appearance of austerity. His eyes, of a brown colour, though not large, were quick and piercing: his hair, which was of a dark-brown hue, he wore tied behind, after the fashion of the day. His constitution was strong, and capable of sustaining great labour; he was exceedingly temperate, and his stomach bore without difficulty the coarsest viands. In his address he was unaffected and retiring, even to bashfulness: his conversation was modest, lively, and agreeable; although at times he appeared thoughtful, wrapped up in his own pursuits, and apparently under a

pressure of mental fatigue when called on to speak upon any other. Like Columbus, he seems to have been somewhat passionate; yet of him, as of the discoverer of America, it may be said, that the quickness of his temper was counteracted by the benevolence and generosity of his heart. The calumny that his disposition was harsh, gloomy, and morose, has been already disproved. "He was beloved by his people," says Mr Samwell, "who looked up to him as to a father, and obeyed his commands with alacrity; the confidence we placed in him was unremitting; our admiration of his great talents unbounded; our esteem for his good qualities affectionate and sincere."

Two representations of his features have been preserved; one by Hodges, the artist who accompanied him in his second voyage; another, which was executed by Dance, is now in Greenwich Hospital, and an engraving from this fine portrait is prefixed to the present Work. It was at the pressing request of Sir Joseph Banks that Cook sat for this picture, on the eve of his departure to explore the southern hemisphere, when all his thoughts were devoted to his arduous undertaking; and his active mind impatiently regretted every hour that he was absent from his duties. These circumstances may account for the deep thoughtfulness and the stern expression visible in this delineation of his countenance; for, while the painter was busy with his features, doubtless his mind was "occupied in great waters."*

* Memoir of Cook in Gallery of Greenwich Hospital. "His widow," says Mr Locker, "has more than once expressed her regret that a portrait, in all other respects so perfect, should convey this erroneous expression to the eye of a stranger."

Few of his days were passed in the quiet scenes of private life; but though his fortunes called him too often from the society of his family, not many men present a more amiable character as a husband and a father. His hours were divided between the instruction and amusement of his children, and the study of his favourite sciences,—navigation, astronomy, and mathematics. He was fond of drawing; but did not take much delight in music or poetry, or in any of the pursuits of rural life.

Captain Cook had six children, of whom three died in infancy. Nathaniel, when sixteen years old, was lost in 1780 with Commodore Walsingham, in the Thunderer; Hugh, who was educated at Cambridge for the church, died in 1793, in his seventeenth year. James, who, at the age of thirty-one, was drowned in 1794, the only son who attained to manhood, displayed much of his father's intrepidity. When pushing off from Poole to join the Spitfire sloop of war, of which he was the commander, he was advised to wait till the storm which was raging should abate:—"It is blowing hard," he replied, "but my boat is well manned, and has weathered a stronger gale; we shall make the ship very well, and I am anxious to be on board." He perished in the attempt, along with the whole of his crew.

The widow of the great voyager survived him for more than half a century. To the last she cherished the most devoted affection for his memory; and even after the lapse of so many years, could not speak of his fate without emotion. Such was her sensibility, that on receiving tidings of the death of her son James, in the vain hope of banishing from her mind the recollection of her losses, she committed to the flames almost all the letters she had received from

his father. For a long period she resided at Clapham, where her unaffected goodness and generosity secured universal love and respect. Her latter years passed away in intercourse with her friends, and in the discharge of those offices of charity and kindness in which her benevolent mind delighted. The afflicting loss of her husband and children, though borne with submissive resignation, was never effaced from her memory; and we are informed that there were certain melancholy anniversaries which, to the end of her days, she devoted to seclusion and pious observance. She died on the 13th May 1835, in the ninety-fourth year of her age. Her body was deposited in a vault in the church of St Andrew the Great, at Cambridge, where her sons James and Hugh were interred. To the parish in which she was buried she assigned £1000, under the conditions, that, from the interest of that sum, the monument she had erected to the memory of her family shall be kept in perfect repair; that the parochial clergyman shall receive a small annual remuneration for his attention to the due discharge of the trust; and that the remainder shall be equally divided yearly, on St Thomas' Day, among five poor and aged women residing in the parish, but deriving no relief therefrom. Besides many legacies to her relatives and servants, she left to the poor of Clapham £750, and to the Schools for the Indigent Blind and the Royal Maternity Charity about £1000. The Copley Medal awarded to her husband, and one of the gold medals struck in his honour by the Royal Society, she bequeathed to the British Museum.*

* Gentleman's Magazine, July 1835.—Nautical Magazine, July 1835 and February 1836. Cook's mother died in 1765, aged 63; "the tombstone which records her death, and that of two sons and

The great characteristics of Cook's mind were energy and perseverance. By the aid of these properties, and stimulated by an honourable ambition, he was able, amid the bustle and toil of active service, not only to acquire a knowledge of his profession rarely equalled, but to supply the deficiencies of a very imperfect education, and raise himself to an eminent station among men of literature and science. After he had reached his thirty-first year, with no assistance from teachers, he mastered, in the few leisure hours which his situation afforded, the study of mathematics and astronomy. Under similar circumstances, he attained great proficiency in drawing. The literary talent and information displayed in the narratives of his second and third circumnavigations, will ever excite astonishment in those who reflect on the few opportunities for the cultivation of letters which their author enjoyed. His mental activity was conspicuous throughout all his voyages. "No incidental temptation," says Captain King, "could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and

three daughters, most of whom died in infancy, is understood to have been carved by her husband, who about ten years after removed from Ayton to Redcar to spend the evening of his days with his daughter Margaret, the wife of Mr James Fleck, a respectable fisherman and shopkeeper. . . . The father of Cook outlived his son only a few weeks; and never heard of his untimely end. He was interred at Marske, April 1, 1779, in the eighty-fifth year of his age. His son-in-law died a few years ago. The captain's sister had three sons, all master-mariners, and four daughters; her descendants are numerous. One only of Cook's nephews is living; but three of his nieces yet survive."—Life and Voyages of Cook, by the Rev. George Young (Lond. 1836), pp. 16, 456. From the same source we learn that the elder Cook is said to have been born at Ednam, on the Tweed. About the time that his son entered the navy he became a mason, and a house which he built for his own residence at Ayton is still in existence. Here he was visited by his son in the brief interval between his second and third voyages.

were looked for by us with a longing, that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with impatience." The immovable constancy with which he pursued his objects was equally remarkable; and there are perhaps few instances of perseverance on record more worthy of note than his survey of the coast of New Holland, carried on by him amid continual dangers; or his search for a Southern Continent, in which he persisted in spite of every privation, concealing from all a dangerous illness that brought him to the brink of the grave. His courage and resolution were invincible, yet unaccompanied with temerity; his self-possession never failed; and we are told, that "in the most perilous situations, when he had given the proper directions concerning what was to be done while he went to rest, he could sleep during the hours he had allotted to himself with perfect composure and soundness." His mind was equally ready and copious in resources; and his designs were marked by a boldness and originality which evinced a consciousness of great powers. These characteristics were demonstrated in the very outset of his first expedition, when, differing from the opinions of every one, he selected his vessel upon principles which the result most amply vindicated.

It may be justly said, that no other navigator extended the bounds of geographical knowledge so widely as he did. The great question of a Southern Continent, which had been agitated for more than two centuries, he completely set at rest. He first made known the eastern coast of New Holland, more than 2000 miles in extent, and presenting perils of the most

formidable nature. He ascertained the northern limit of Australia, and restored to Europeans the knowledge of the long-lost Strait of Torres. He dissipated the belief that New Zealand was a part of the Terra Australis Incognita, brought to light its eastern boundary previously unknown, and circumnavigated its shores. He completed the labours of Quiros and later voyagers in the Archipelago of the New Hebrides, and first delineated an accurate chart of their coasts. He discovered New Caledonia, with one exception the largest island in the Austral Ocean. He investigated the depths of the Southern Atlantic, made us acquainted with Sandwich Land, fixed the position of Kerguelen's Island, visited the almost-forgotten Isla Grande of La Roche, and surveyed the southern shores of Tierra del Fuego with a fidelity at that time unprecedented. During this navigation, he twice crossed the antarctic circle, and attained a higher latitude than had been reached by any former voyager. He explored the Tonga Archipelago and that of Las Marquesas, neither of which had been visited since the days of Tasman and Mendana, and added greatly to our knowledge of their situation and productions, their inhabitants, manners, and customs. Easter, or Edward Davis' Island, which had been sought in vain by Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Bougainville, did not elude his researches. He greatly increased our acquaintance with the Low, or Coral Archipelago, and completed the discovery of the Society Islands. In other parts of the South Sea, he brought to light the islands of Norfolk, Botany, Pines, Palmerston, Savage, Hervey, Mangeea, Wateeoo, Otakootaia, Turtle, Toobouai, and Christmas. Along the north-west coast of America, he effected

more in one season than the Spaniards had accomplished in two centuries. Besides rectifying many mistakes of former explorers, he ascertained the breadth of the strait which separates Asia from the New World,—a point which Behring had left unsettled. Passing the arctic, as he had crossed the antarctic circle, he penetrated farther than any preceding navigator; and as more than half a century expired without a nearer approach being made to the Southern Pole than he had achieved, a like period elapsed before our knowledge of the American coast was extended beyond the point to which he attained. Among the latest and greatest of his discoveries were the Sandwich Islands,—which, in the sentence wherewith his journal abruptly terminates, he truly characterizes as "though the last, in many respects the most important that has hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean."*

But it would be injustice to him if we were to estimate his merits only by the extent, number, or importance of the countries which he added to the map of the world. It has been remarked by a distinguished circumnavigator of a neighbouring nation, that his labours created a new era in geographical science.† Unlike his precursors, he was not content with being able to announce the existence of new lands, but delineated the bearing and figure of their coasts, and fixed their position with an exactness which can hardly be surpassed even by means of the improved instruments of our own days. While great errors have been detected in the longitudes of Byron and his successors, and still greater in those of the earlier voyagers, every succeeding navigator

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 548.
† M. D'Urville, Voyage autour du Monde, tome i. p. xii.

has borne testimony to the accuracy of Cook's determinations. So late as 1815, his chart of the southern coast of Tierra del Fuego was characterized by Admiral Burney as the best guide which the seaman possessed to that region. Of a more juvenile performance, his map of the shores of Newfoundland, the late surveyor of the island, Captain Bullock, speaks in terms of warm commendation. Praise equally high has been awarded to his representation of the coasts of New Zealand, by M. Crozet, the companion of the unfortunate Marion. "As soon," says he, "as I had got hold of the voyage of the English, I compared with care the chart which I had drawn with that taken by Captain Cook and his officers. I found it to possess an exactness and minuteness which astonished me beyond all expression. I doubt whether our own coasts of France have been delineated with more precision." La Perouse never mentions the name of the great seaman without expressing warm admiration of his accuracy; and M. D'Urville assigns him the title of "fondateur de la véritable géographie dans l'Océan-Pacifique: ceux," he adds, "qui sont venus après lui sur les mêmes lieux n'ont pu prétendre qu'au mérite d'avoir plus ou moins perfectionné ses travaux."* Testimony of no less weight has been borne to the correctness of his delineations of people, manners, and countries. "A residence of eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands," says Mr Ellis, "has afforded me an opportunity of becoming familiar with many of the scenes and usages described in his voyages, and I have often been struck with the fidelity with which they are uniformly portrayed. In the inferences he draws, and the reasons he assigns, he is

* Voyage autour du Monde, tome i. p. xiii.

sometimes mistaken; but in the description of what he saw and heard, there is throughout a degree of accuracy, seldom if ever exceeded in accounts equally minute and extended."*

Great as are the contributions which Cook made to geographical science, they are perhaps surpassed in utility and importance by his discovery of the art of preserving the health of seamen in long expeditions. The reader who has perused the details which have been given of the sufferings of Anson's expedition, will not be at a loss to appreciate what praise is due to him who removed the scurvy from the list of diseases incident to a nautical life, and first showed that a voyage of three years' duration might be performed with the loss of but one man by sickness. To use the words with which he concludes the narrative of his second circumnavigation,—"Whatever may be the public judgment about other matters, it is with real satisfaction, and without claiming any merit but that of attention to my duty, that I can conclude this account with an observation which facts enable me to make, that our having discovered the possibility of preserving health amongst a numerous ship's company for such a length of time, in such varieties of climate, and amidst such continued hardships and fatigues, will make this voyage remarkable in the opinion of every benevolent person, when the disputes about a Southern Continent shall have ceased to engage the attention and to divide the judgment

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 3. See also Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. i. p. xv. A later voyager, Captain Waldegrave, who visited the Friendly Archipelago in 1830, writes, "In our tour through these islands we had great reason to admire the general accuracy of Captain Cook; his description of the houses, fences, manners of the Hapai Islands, is correct to the present day."—Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. iii. p. 186.

of philosophers."* Indeed, had he made no other discovery but this, he would have been justly entitled to the praise and gratitude of mankind.

There still remains one important view in which his voyages must be regarded, namely, as having added to the power and riches of his country, by laying open new fields of commercial enterprise, disclosing sources of wealth previously unknown, and extending the limits of her territorial possessions. The shores of New South Wales, which he was the first to explore, have become the seat of a vast and flourishing colony, whose wealth and resources are daily increasing. The ports of New Zealand are frequented by British shipping; settlements of our countrymen have been formed on its bays; and its vegetable treasures—its trees and flax—have been rendered available to the wants of our navy. His discoveries on the northern coast of America gave rise to a valuable and extensive trade in furs. The Sandwich Islands have become so great a mart of traffic, that it has been found necessary to establish an English consulate at their capital. The Southern Pacific is every where the resort of whaling-vessels, engaged in a lucrative fishery, and deriving their supplies of sea-stores from those fertile islands, the various ports and harbours of which he was the first to make known.† Even the barren rocks of New South Georgia, which he visited in his second voyage, have been far from unprofitable; it is believed that, besides the skins of the fur-seal, they have yielded no

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 293.

† "Le nombre des navires Anglais et Américains, principalement de baleiniers, qui abordent à Tahiti, est de 200 à 250, terme moyen en six mois. On dit que la population blanche y est de 200 à 300 personnes, et augmente chaque jour."—Singapore Chronicle, quoted in Nouvelles Annales des Voyages (1833), tome xxx. p. 111.

less than 20,000 tons of the sea-elephant oil for the London market. Kerguelen's, or Desolation Island, has proved a scarcely less fruitful source of advantage; and it is calculated "that, during the time these two islands have been resorted to for the purpose of trade, more than 2000 tons of shipping, and from two to three hundred seamen, have been employed annually in this traffic."*

While so many advantages have accrued to the civilized world from the voyages of the illustrious navigator whose history has just been narrated, the countries and nations which he made known have likewise reaped a rich harvest of benefit; and it is consolatory to reflect, that the fears which troubled his benevolent mind lest the islanders of the Austral Ocean might have "just cause to lament that our ships had ever found them out," have not been realized. The labours of the good and pious men who sailed in the ship Duff to spread the glad tidings of salvation among "the isles of the sea," though long unsuccessful, have at length been crowned with a prosperous issue. Throughout the principal groups of the Pacific idolatry has been overthrown, and along with it the darker crimes and more brutal vices of the natives. Those desolating wars, in which mercy was altogether unknown, and neither sex nor age was a protection from the exterminating fury of the victors, have ceased. The barbarous sacrifices of human beings, and the still more sanguinary usage of infanticide, which prevailed to an extent almost incredible, have been abolished. Peace, order, and tranquillity are established; not a few of the customs and comforts of Europe introduced; schools and churches erected; and a knowledge of letters exten-

* Weddel's Voyage towards the South Pole, pp. 53, 54.

sively diffused. A printing-press has been established in the Society Islands, from which a translation of the New Testament into the native language, a number of initiatory treatises, and a code of laws ratified by the nation, have already issued. Many of the inhabitants have made so great progress in learning, that they have been able to take on themselves the character of missionaries, and go forth to preach the Gospel to their benighted brethren in less favoured places. Others have acquired the arts of the smith, the mason, the weaver, the cotton-spinner, the turner, the agriculturist, or the carpenter. In the trade last mentioned they have made such proficiency as to build after the English style vessels of seventy tons burden, for commercial enterprises to different parts of Polynesia.

The people of the Sandwich Archipelago have advanced still farther in civilisation. The Bay of Honororu, in the island of Woahoo, almost resembles a European harbour. Fifty foreign vessels have been seen in it at one time. In the latter part of the year 1833, it was resorted to by more than 26,000 tons of shipping, employing upwards of 2000 seamen, and bearing the flags of England, Prussia, Spain, America, and Otaheite.* It is defended by a fortress mounting forty guns, over which, and from the masts of the native barks, is suspended the national ensign,† which has already been seen in the ports of China, the Philippines, America, Kamtschatka, the New Hebrides, and Australia. The

* Canton Register, 6th May 1834, quoted in the Asiatic Journal (March 1835), vol. xvi. p. 191.

† "Le pavillon Sandwichien, se composoit d'un yacht Anglais, sur un fond rayé horizontalement de neuf bandes alternatives, blanches, rouges et bleues: le blanc étoit placé le plus haut et le yacht à l'angle supérieur, près la ralingue."—Freycinet, Voyage autour du Monde, tome ii. p. 621.

town is regularly laid out in squares, the streets are carefully fenced, and numbers of the houses are neatly built of wood. It possesses a regular police, contains two hotels, the same number of billiard-rooms, and nearly a dozen taverns, bearing such inscriptions as "An Ordinary at One o'Clock," "The Britannia," and "The Jolly Tar." It is the residence of a British and of an American consul, and of several respectable merchants of the United States.* Education and a knowledge of religion are widely spread throughout the islands; nine hundred seminaries, conducted by native teachers, are established, and fifty thousand children receive instruction in reading.† Within a little distance of the very spot where Cook was killed, a school has been opened, and a building erected for the worship of the True God.

The fortune of some others of the countries explored by him has hitherto been less auspicious; but in most of them missions are already planted with every prospect of success, and we may confidently look forward to the day when teachers of Christianity shall be established in all.

It may be said, indeed, that in almost every quarter of Polynesia the seeds of civilisation are now sown, and it is a plant (as has been remarked) which seldom withers or decays, however slowly it may advance in growth. The hopes, therefore, can hardly be considered visionary which have been expressed by a late distinguished voyager, who, in sailing along the shores of New Zealand, antici-

* "Dans cette ville naissante, fondée dans un pays dont les habitans, il y a dix ans, étaient tout-à-fait sauvages, on trouve déjà presque toutes les commodités des villes d'Europe."—Observations sur les Habitans des Iles Sandwich, par M. P. E. Botta.—Nouvelles Annales des Voyages, tome xxii. p. 135.

† Quarterly Journal of Education, vol. iii. p. 376.

pated the period when that magnificent country shall become the Great Britain of the Southern Hemisphere, when its now solitary plains shall be covered with large and populous cities, and the bays which are at present frequented but by the frail canoe of the wandering savage, shall be thronged with the commercial navies of empires situated at the opposite ends of the earth.* When that day shall arrive, and the fertile islands of the Pacific become the seat of great and flourishing states, we may confidently predict, that Cook will be revered, not with the blind adoration offered to the fancied Rono, but with the rational respect and affection due by an enlightened people to him who was the harbinger of their civilisation; and that among the great and good men, commemorated in their annals as national benefactors, none will be more highly extolled than the illustrious navigator who, surmounting the dangers and difficulties of unknown seas, laid open the path by which the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion were wafted to their distant shores.

* D'Urville, Voyage autour du Monde, tome ii. pp. 114, 115.

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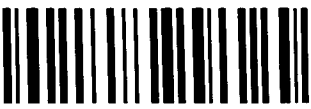

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